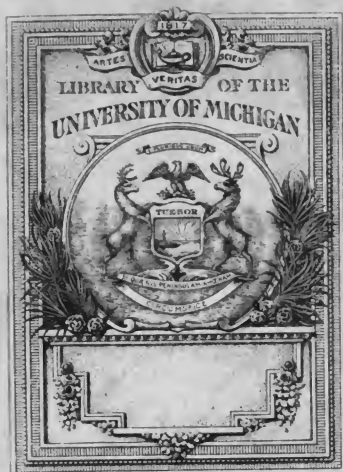




*Full annals of the revolution in
France, 1830*



BEQUEST OF
ABBY L. SARGENT



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FULL ANNALS
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION
OF
1830.



BY WILLIAM HONE,

EDITOR OF THE EVERYDAY BOOK AND THE PUNCH, EDITOR OF STURTE'S SPORTS AND
PASTIMES OF ENGLAND, &c. &c.

SIXTH EDITION, CORRECTED.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THOMAS TEGG, 73, CHEAPSIDE.

Price Half a Crown.



LOUIS PHILIPPE II.

KING OF THE FRENCH.

From a Drawing by Thomas Topham. Sep! 4 1830.

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FULL ANNALS
OF THE
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,
1830.

ILLEGAL ORDINANCES OF CHARLES X.
MILITARY EXECUTION TO ENFORCE THEM.
BATTLES AND VICTORIES OF THE PEOPLE OF PARIS.
ABDICATION AND FLIGHT OF THE KING.
PROCEEDINGS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.
DECLARATION OF RIGHTS BY THE DEPUTIES.

ENTHRONEMENT OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS,
UNDER THE TITLE OF
LOUIS PHILIPPE I.,
KING OF THE FRENCH.

ADDRESSES, PROTESTS, PROCLAMATIONS, DECREES, AND
OTHER IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS:
NARRATIVES, AND INTERESTING ANECDOTES OF DISTINGUISHED
PATRIOTISM AND BRAVERY:

MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS, &c.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The details in the ensuing columns are derived, First, from articles in the Journals, usually called news, from correspondence with their editors, and from private letters communicated to them; and, Secondly, from unpublished letters, and from personal interviews with residents in Paris. Of course the authorities for both were eye-witnesses of the events.

To discover the truth of the facts thus obtained was the first object; the next was to place each fact under the day to which it belongs. Both these objects have been accomplished, as far as they could be under the circumstances.

These statements, day by day, presuming nothing material has been omitted, are Full Annals of the French Revolution in 1830; from the issuing of the arbitrary ordinances of Charles X. to his abdication and flight, and the enthronement of the Duke of Orleans, under the name and title of Louis Philippe I., King of the French.

Several narratives of the battles of the brave people of Paris with the late king's army are introduced entire. One, by M. Leonard Gallois, has been purposely translated for these sheets. Another is an original Letter from an English Gentleman, who, unable to speak French, went to Paris for a week's pleasure, and saw half of the Revolution without knowing that it was a Revolution.

The principal documents of importance are inserted entire; particularly the ordinances of Charles X.—the protests against them—the Declaration of Rights presented by the Chamber of Deputies to the Duke of Orleans, as the articles of condition on which he was declared King of the French—the principal addresses, proclamations, and orders of the day, of the Provisional Government—ordinances of Louis Philippe I., &c. Care has been taken to give a clear and impartial report of the speeches and proceedings in the Chambers, on altering the Charter, and filling the vacant throne. The eloquent and memorable speech of M. Chateaubriand is verbatim. It has also been thought proper to insert the Declaration of Rights of the National Assembly of 1789, as being the grand manifesto of *French Principles*, and the basis of the French Constitution of 1830. Added to these, and illustrative of transactions in France, are—the Marseillais Hymn—a popular Song by Mr. Roscoe, on the breaking out of the Revolution in 1789—a poetical Address to France, by the late Mr. Edward Rushton, of Liverpool—and another poem or two.

It will scarcely be expected that any one but a person locally acquainted with Paris, and a witness of the sanguinary engagements, could describe the different conflicts or the capture of the palaces and public buildings with entire clearness. The materials have been abundant, but very confused; some of the statements were contradictory, and others upon examination proved untrue. So far as truth could be ascertained, it has been adhered to as a governing rule in compiling from such a multifarious mass—the chief endeavour has been to give the greatest number of authentic and interesting facts that could be collected.

September, 1830.

W. HONE.

FULL ANNALS

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,

1830.

There have been frequent anticipations of a sudden termination to the power of Charles X. One, so long ago as 1827, in *Rambling Notes on a Visit to Paris*, by Sir A. B. Faulkner, when Peyronnet was trying experiments for shackling the press, is remarkably prophetic. This gentlemen then said :—

“The present project of M. Peyronnet, to restrain the liberty of the Press, has lent no small force to the jealousy of the present Government, and, considering the awful experience they had in former times, seems a most unaccountable temerity. If it were merely one or two acts of an arbitrary nature they were trying to carry, they might be overlooked, or at least have the benefit of some equivocal interpretation; but, when a number of convergent measures are attempted at the same time, the tendency of which is alike hostile to the spirit of the Charter and the wishes of the people, surely little farther proof is necessary to convince them of the *animus* that presides in the councils of the nation. But, after all, it is only themselves the people have to thank for the whole. They committed a sad oversight at the restoration. Before they allowed Louis XVIII. to put one of his gouty feet on the beach at Calais they should have presented him, as we did in a similar conjuncture, with a bill of rights, as the positive and peremptory condition of his being accepted for their Sovereign.

“From all I hear, I augur nothing but mischief, should M. Peyronnet's project for trammelling the press be suffered to pass. If public opinion has not vent through this channel, it must sooner or later find another, and one probably the Government may like as little. True it is that, before the revolution, the nation long and patiently endured the agonies of suppressed opinion; but let us bear in mind how long they had been strangers to any thing like freedom. The experiment of open, manful remonstrance, would have been a fearful venture, while a *lettre de cachet* hung over their heads, and they were ignorant or distrustful of their strength. The insane abettors of this Bill appear to have forgotten that they live in the nineteenth not the sixteenth century: *the benefit of all history is thrown away upon them.* It is thrown away upon them that

England has experimentally proved that the liberty of the press is the best bulwark of our religion and Constitution, by enlightening men to appreciate the value of both. It is lost upon them, too, that *there is no possible mode of getting at an acquaintance with the true interests of the governed, but through the free publication of opinion*; or, if they do know these things, they force us into the conclusion that the object is in reality not the suppression of the *licentiousness* of the press, as they would have it believed, but a step towards the restoration of absolute Government. A Frenchman asked me, to-day, why there should not be a check upon aristocratic *licentiousness* as well as popular *licentiousness*. ‘Human nature being the same in both, is there,’ said he, ‘any good reason why there should not be a *mutual* guarantee for the good behaviour of both? The history of your own country is a pregnant proof of the attachment which a free press begets for a free Constitution, which you know, spite of the most frightful commotions and rudest shocks, always righted again mainly, if not solely, through its instrumentality.’ So fully do I coincide with this view of the subject, that I am convinced, *if her navigators do not look sharp, the French vessel of State will soon be on her beam ends.* It is said, *au pis aller*, if the Minister cannot manage to carry his project by any other means, fair or foul, he has advised the King to create sixty new Peers. Better—or I am far astray in my French Politics—better Charles X. you had never left your *pension* in Holyrood House.

“The common opinion about the Press Restriction Bill is, that it must eventually pass into law. It will behove its authors and abettors to be aware. The steam of public opinion is at present under high pressure, and it is doubtful whether it will bear much increase.

“The King is never mentioned but in connection with an incubus of Jesuits, by whom, they say, he is perpetually and most unmercifully bestrode. There certainly appears to be no occasion that their bitterest enemy should desire the Royal Family any greater humiliation than they at present may be supposed to endure from the state of popular feeling. Never, perhaps, did Royalty repose on any thing more the reverse of a bed of roses. If

hearsay and appearances may be trusted, *they live literally as exiles among their own people, without one soul that I could discover to sympathise with this most unnatural sequestration.*

In such circumstances, to render misery complete, I can conceive nothing wanting except that, while not receiving sympathy, we should be conscious of not deserving it."

What a picture!—Charles X. and the Polignac Administration, in 1830, realised the anticipations of a common-sense English gentleman in 1827.

Before detailing the events of the revolution in France, in 1830, it is necessary to state a few previous circumstances.

In March 1814 the allied armies invested Paris, and Louis XVIII. then prepared to leave England, in order to occupy the throne of France. The count d'Artois (afterwards Charles X.) left Switzerland on the 19th of March, entered Vesoul on the 22nd, and, on setting his foot on the French territories, exclaimed, "At length I see my native country again—that country which my ancestors governed in mildness!—I will never quit it again!"

In that little speech he made a capital mistake; his ancestors had *not* governed France "in mildness." His persevering in that mistake, by endeavouring to govern like them, by ordinances, occasioned another mistake; he has quitted France again.

Charles X. broke the Charter. A few sentences will show the origin of that Charter.

On the 30th of March, 1814, Paris was surrounded by the cannon and armies of the allied sovereigns, who desired to enter the capital without difficulty; and prince Schwartzenberg, as their representative, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Paris, stating that the allied armies were before the city, with the hope of a sincere and lasting reconciliation with France;—that the allied sovereigns "sought in good faith a salutary authority in France," and looked to the city of Paris "to accelerate the peace of the world."

On the same day, the emperor of Russia, by a declaration on behalf of himself and the other allied sovereigns, "invited the senate to name immediately a provisional government able to provide for the wants of the administration," and prepare a "constitution suitable to the French people."

On the 31st of March, the senate decreed that the provisional government should consist of five members, and proceeded to nominate them, viz. M. Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento, Vice Grand Elector; Count du Bonnouvelle, Senator; Count de Jaucour, Senator; Duke D' Auberger, Councillor of State; M. de Montesquieu, ancient member of the Constitutional Assembly.

In a second sitting the senate declared

that the Dynasty of Napoleon was at an end, that the French were absolved from their oath of allegiance to him, and that the senate and legislative bodies should form fundamental parts of the new constitution. In consequence of that declaration the emperor Alexander declared, "I leave the choice of the monarch and government entirely to the French people."

On the 3d of April the senate entered on its register that "a constitutional monarchy is, in virtue of the constitution, a social compact;" and that, as Napoleon had violated his legal powers, he had forfeited the throne and the hereditary right established in his family. One of their principal allegations against Napoleon was "that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, had been constantly subjected to the arbitrary control of his Police; and that at the same time he had always made use of the Press to fill France with misrepresentations, false maxims, and doctrines favorable to despotism."

On the 6th of April the conservative senate decreed the form of a constitution, by which constitution Louis XVIII. was called to the throne of France, and which constitution contains this remarkable article:—"23. The liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of the legal repression of offences which may result from the abuse of that liberty."

On the 14th of April the senate decreed as follows:—"The senate offers the provisional government of France to his royal highness Monseigneur Count D'Artois, under the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, until Louis Stanislaus Xavier of France, called to the throne of the French, has accepted the Constitutional Charter." The Count D'Artois replied, "Gentlemen, I have taken cognizance of the Constitutional Charter, which recalls to the throne of France my august brother. I have not received from him the power to accept the Constitution, but I know his sentiments and principles, and I do not fear being disavowed when I assure you in his name he will admit the basis of it."

The French determined not to send over the Constitution to be presented to Louis XVIII. for his acceptance in this country, lest from his being resident at the court of one of the allied sovereigns it might be supposed he had accepted it under influence. This, they expressly declared, "they considered as due to his honor, as well as to their own independence—because they tendered him the crown upon conditions."

Louis XVIII. landed at Calais. By not obtaining his acceptance of their Constitution before they permitted him to set his foot on the soil of France, the French committed a great blunder.

When Louis XVIII. reached St. Ouen, he published a declaration on the 2d of May, setting forth that he had attentively read the "plan of the Constitution proposed by the Senate," but that a great many articles bore the appearance of precipitation.

In this declaration, and in the King's position, there was enough to alarm the vigilant. Under the protection of foreign bayonets, he reserved to himself the power of rejecting whatever he disliked.

Louis XVIII. found himself constituted king of France, in the palace of the Tuilleries, and was in no hurry to settle the affair of the Constitution; but the people clamored against the delay, and at length he issued a manifesto, which contains the following sentence—that "Resolved to adopt a liberal Constitution, willing that it be wisely combined, and not being able to accept one that it is indispensable to rectify, we call together, on the 10th of June, the Senate and the Legislative body—we engage to place under their eyes the pains which we have taken with a commission chosen out of these two bodies, and to give for the basis of that constitution the following guarantees."

On the 10th of June the Senate and the Legislative body met, and the people were swindled. By the Constitution they proposed to Louis XVIII. he had ascended the throne: as soon as he found himself upon it, he threw away the ladder—he rejected the principle of compact.

By the Constitution, Louis XVIII. would have acknowledged that the people had rights, and that in the exercise of those rights they had called him to the throne. This doctrine he had acquiesced in till he was safe in his seat. He then disclaimed their sovereignty by setting up his own. The only right he acknowledged was *Right Divine*, and, instead of ratifying the Constitution, he issued a patent—what he called a Charter, beginning—"Louis, by the Grace of God, King, &c.—Whereas *Divine Providence* in calling us, &c.—A Constitutional Charter was solicited—and we have, in the free exercise of our royal authority, agreed and consented to make concessions, and grant to our subjects, &c." In short, *Divine Right* was all in all, and over all. It pleased the King, "in the free exercise of his royal authority," to badge the people as his hereditary property—he gave them a Charter.

The people gradually became reconciled, for they could not help themselves; and Louis XVIII. maintained his position on the throne with considerable firmness. On any ministerial attempt at encroachment they referred to the articles of the Charter, which, though originating in a despotic principle, was, in its operation, a benefit.

Louis XVIII., on his death-bed, used to his successor Charles X. these memorable words, "Govern legally"—meaning, according to the Charter.

On Charles X. good advice was lost. In the hands of a host of priests and Jesuits he thought himself religious—he was only superstitious. In his conduct towards the people he seemed without a moral sense. The rights of kings, and the "mild" rule of his ancestors, were ever before him. His hallucination was without intervals. Nothing was to be yielded to the people; for nothing belonged to them—not even their patent rights under the Charter. To strengthen himself in the Chamber of Peers, he increased it by creations. To weaken the people, he invaded the elective franchise, and shackled the press.

In August, 1829, Charles X. dismissed M. Martignac's administration, because it would not go all lengths against the people, and appointed another, of ultra-royalists, under his natural son, Prince Polignac. A cabal of priests and court minions prevailed. The Charter was invaded: the journals resisted, and the ablest writers in behalf of constitutional rights were prosecuted. The press was to be subjected, and the people enslaved.

In March, 1830, the Chambers met, and the first act of the Deputies was an address, praying the King to dismiss his ministers. This, on account of its prayer, was called an "insolent" address. The King answered it haughtily, and dissolved the Chambers. Notwithstanding nefarious intrigues by the ministers to influence and control the elections, the majority of Deputies against the Ministers was evidently greater than before. The Charter had limited the period within which the sessions was to commence, and the Chambers were convoked for the 3d of August.

Polignac, a rash and infirm-minded man, and Peyronnet, a man as depraved in private as he is unprincipled in public life, were the leaders of the administration devoted to the king's designs. Every reflecting person in France knew it was impossible that the government of Charles X. could go on, unless he would "govern legally." He resolved to govern as he would.

About the middle of July, it was whispered that the court had determined to strike a blow, by licensing only what Journals it pleased, and putting the Press under a rigid censorship—by opening the Chamber of Deputies—with a selection only from the newly elected Deputies,—and by disfranchising a majority of the very small number of persons qualified, under the Charter, to be electors: this it was said would be effected by a stroke of the pen. The rumor died away under the assurances

of Polignac and Peyronnet, that no such measures were contemplated.

At this time Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald was in Paris, and had intimation of what Charles X. and his ministers intended, from unquestionable authority. He went to Prince Polignac, and by strong representations and earnest entreaties endeavoured to dissuade him from his headstrong purposes. Polignac was inflexible. Mr. Fitzgerald then addressed himself to two or three private friends and political coadjutors of the minister; they concurred in Mr. Fitzgerald's views and hastened

in alarm to Polignac, but found him confident of success and deaf to argument. In the dead of night, within a few hours of the meeting at St. Cloud, which decided the fate of France, one of the ministers, unable to rest from anxiety and incertitude as to the event, arose from his bed, and disturbed Polignac, for the purpose of persuading him to abandon the meditated design:—the minister was determined to persist, and, from a feeling of honor, his baffled visitor shared the danger of the desperate deed.

SUNDAY, JULY 25th, 1830.

Prince Polignac and his colleagues drew up and signed a Report on behalf of "legitimate power," addressed to the King. This formed the ground-work of three memorable ordinances which were signed to-day at St. Cloud by Charles X. and countersigned by his ministers.

The first ordinance abolished the freedom of the Press; the second dissolved the Chamber of newly-elected Deputies, before they formed a Chamber; the third abrogated the most important rights of the elective franchise. Copies of these memorable documents are subjoined.

REPORT OF THE MINISTERS TO THE KING.

"Sire,

"Your Ministers would be little worthy of the confidence with which your Majesty honors them, if they longer delayed to place before your eyes a view of our internal situation, and to point out to your high wisdom the dangers of the periodical press.

"At no time for these fifteen years has this situation presented itself under a more serious and more afflicting aspect. Notwithstanding an actual prosperity of which our annals afford no example, signs of disorganization and symptoms of anarchy manifest themselves at almost every point of the kingdom.

"The successive causes which have concurred to weaken the springs of the monarchical government tend now to impair and to change the nature of it. Stripped of its moral force, authority, lost in the capital and the provinces, no longer contends, but at a disadvantage, with the factious. Pernicious and subversive doctrines, loudly professed, are spread and propagated among all classes of the population. Alarms, too generally credited, agitate people's minds and trouble society. On all sides the present is called upon for pledges of security for the future.

"An active, ardent, indefatigable malevolence, labors to ruin all the foundations of order, and to snatch from France the happiness it enjoys under the sceptre of its Kings. Skilful in turning to advantage all discontents, and exciting all hatreds, it foment among the people a spirit of distrust and hostility towards power, and endeavours to sow every where the seeds of trouble and civil war; and already, Sire, recent events have proved that political passions, hitherto confined to the summits of society, begin to penetrate the depths of it, and to stir up the popular classes. It is proved also that these masses would never move without danger, even to those who endeavoured to rouse them from repose.

"A multitude of facts, collected in the course of the electoral operations, confirm these data, and would offer us the too certain presage of new commotions, if it were not in the power of your Majesty to avert the misfortune.

"Every where also, if we observe with attention, there exists a necessity of order, of strength, and of duration; and the agitations which appear to be the most contrary to it are in reality only the expression and the testimony of it.

"It must be acknowledged that these agitations, which cannot be increased without great dangers, are almost exclusively produced and excited by the liberty of the press. A law on the elections, no less fruitful of disorders, has doubtless concurred in maintaining them; but it would be denying what is evident, to refuse seeing in the journals the principal focus of a corruption the progress of which is every day more sensible, and the first source of the calamities which threaten the kingdom.

"Experience, Sire, speaks more loudly than theories. Men who are doubtless enlightened, and whose good faith is not suspected, led away by the ill-understood

example of a neighbouring people, may have believed that the advantages of the periodical press would balance its inconveniences, and that its excesses would be neutralized by contrary excesses. It is not so: the proof is decisive, and the question is now judged in the public mind.

"At all times, in fact, the periodical press has been, and it is in its nature to be, only an instrument of disorder and sedition.

"What numerous and irrefragable proofs may be brought in support of this truth! It is by the violent and incessant action of the press that the too sudden and too frequent variations of our internal policy are to be explained. It has not permitted a regular and stable system of government to be established in France, nor any constant attention to be devoted to introduce into all the branches of the administration the ameliorations of which they are susceptible. All the ministries since 1814, though formed under divers influences, and subject to opposite directions, have been exposed to the same attacks and to the same licence of the passions. Sacrifices of every kind, concessions of power, alliances of party, nothing has been able to save them from this common destiny.

"This comparison alone, so fertile in reflections, would suffice to assign to the press its true, its invariable character. It endeavours, by constant, persevering, daily-repeated efforts, to relax all the bonds of obedience and subordination, to weaken all the springs of public authority, to degrade and debase it in the opinion of the people, to create against it every where embarrassment and resistance.

"Its art consists not in substituting for a too easy submission of mind a prudent liberty of examination, but in reducing to a problem the most positive truths; not in exciting upon political questions frank and useful controversy, but in placing them in a false light, and solving them by sophisms.

"The press has thus excited confusion in the most upright minds,—has shaken the most firm convictions, and produced, in the midst of society, a confusion of principles which lends itself to the most fatal attempts. It is by anarchy in doctrines that it paves the way for anarchy in the state. It is worthy of remark, Sire, that the periodical press has not even fulfilled its most essential condition,—that of publicity. What is strange, but what may be said with truth, is, that there is no publicity in France, taking this word in its just and strict sense. In this state of things, facts, when they are not entirely fictitious, do not come to the knowledge of several millions of readers, except mutilated and disfigured in the most odious

manner. A thick cloud raised by the journals conceals the truth, and in some manner intercepts the light between the Government and the people. The kings your predecessors, Sire, always loved to communicate with their subjects: this is a satisfaction which the press has not thought fit that your Majesty should enjoy.

"A licentiousness which has passed all bounds has, in fact, not respected, even on the most solemn occasions, either the express will of the King or the words pronounced from the throne. Some have been misunderstood and misinterpreted; the others have been the subject of perfidious commentaries, or of bitter derision. It is thus that the last act of the Royal power—the proclamation—was discredited by the public even before it was known by the electors.

"This is not all. The press tends to no less than to subjugate the sovereignty, and to invade the powers of the state. The pretended organ of public opinion, it aspires to direct the debates of the two Chambers; it is incontestable that it brings into them the weight of an influence no less fatal than decisive. This domination has assumed, especially within these two or three years, in the Chamber of Deputies, a manifest character of oppression and tyranny. We have seen in this interval of time the journals pursue with their insults and their outrages the members whose votes appeared to them uncertain or suspected. Too often, Sire, the freedom of debate in that Chamber has sunk under the reiterated blows of the press.

"The conduct of the opposition journals in the most recent circumstances cannot be characterised in terms less severe. After having themselves called forth an address derogatory to the prerogatives of the Throne, they have not feared to re-establish as a principle the election of the 221 Deputies whose work it is: and yet your Majesty repulsed the address as offensive; you had publicly planned the refusal of concurrence which was expressed in it; you had announced your immutable resolution to defend the rights of your crown, which were so openly compromised. The periodical journals have paid no regard to this: on the contrary, they have taken it upon them to renew, to perpetuate, and to aggravate the offence. Your Majesty will decide whether this presumptuous attack shall remain longer unpunished.

"But, of all the excesses of the press, the most serious perhaps remains to be pointed out. From the very beginning of that expedition, the glory of which throws so pure and so durable a splendor on the noble crown of France, the press has criticised with unheard-of violence the causes, the

means, the preparations, the chances of success. Insensible to the national honor, it was not its fault if our flag did not remain degraded by the insults of a barbarian. Indifferent to the great interests of humanity, it has not been its fault if Europe has not remained subject to a cruel slavery and a shameful tribute.

"This was not enough. By a treachery which our laws might have reached, the press has eagerly published all the secrets of the armament; brought to the knowledge of foreigners the state of our forces, the number of our troops, and that of our ships; pointed out their stations, the means to be employed to surmount the variability of the winds, and to approach the coast. Every thing, even the place of landing, was divulged, as if to give the enemy more certain means of defence; and, a thing unheard of among civilised people, the press has not hesitated, by false alarms on the dangers to be incurred, to cause discouragement in the army, and, pointing out to its hatred the commander of the enterprise, it has, as it were, excited the soldiers to raise against him the standard of revolt, or to desert their colors. This is what the organs of a party which pretends to be national have dared to do.

"What it dares to do every day in the interior of the kingdom tends to no less than to disperse the elements of public peace, to dissolve the bands of society, and evidently to make the ground tremble under our feet. Let us not fear to disclose here the whole extent of our evils, in order the better to appreciate the whole extent of our resources. A system of defamation, organized on a great scale, and directed with unequalled perseverance, reaches, either near at hand or at a distance, the most humble of the agents of the government. None of your subjects, Sire, is secure from an insult, if he receives from his sovereign the least mark of confidence or satisfaction. A vast net thrown over France envelops all the public functionaries. Placed in a constant state of accusation, they seem to be in a manner cut off from civil society; only those are spared whose fidelity wavers—only those are praised whose fidelity gives way; the others are marked by the faction to be in the sequel, without doubt, sacrificed to popular vengeance.

"The periodical press has not displayed less ardor in pursuing, with its poisoned darts, religion and its priests. Its object is, and always will be, to root out of the heart of the people even the last germ of religious sentiments. Sire, do not doubt that it will succeed in this, by attacking the foundations

of the press, by poisoning the sources of public morals, and by covering the ministers of the altars with derision and contempt.

"No strength, it must be confessed, is able to resist a dissolving power so active; as the press at all times, where it has been freed from its fetters, has made an irruption and invasion in the state. One cannot but be singularly struck with the similitude of its effects during these last fifteen years, notwithstanding circumstances, and notwithstanding the changes of the men who have figured on the political stage. Its destiny, in a word, is to recommence the revolution, the principles of which it loudly proclaims. Placed and replaced at various intervals under the yoke of the censorship, it has always resumed its liberty only to recommence its interrupted work. In order to continue it with the more success, it has found an active auxiliary in the departmental press, which engaging in combat local jealousies and hatreds, striking terror into the minds of timid men, harassing authority by endless intrigues, has exercised a decisive influence on the elections.

"These last effects, Sire, are transitory; but effects more durable are observed in the manners and in the character of the nation. An ardent, lying, and passionate spirit of contention, the schools of scandal and licentiousness, has produced in it important changes, and profound alterations: it gives a false direction to people's minds; it fills them with prejudices—diverts them from serious studies—retards them in the progress of the sciences and the arts—excites among us a fermentation, which is constantly increasing—maintains, even in the bosom of our families, fatal dissensions—and might, by degrees, throw us back into barbarism.

"Against so many evils, engendered by the periodical press, the law and justice are equally obliged to confess their want of power. It would be superfluous to enquire into the causes which have weakened the power of repression, and have insensibly made it an ineffectual weapon in the hands of the authorities. It is sufficient to appeal to experience, and to show the present state of things.

"Judicial forms do not easily lend themselves to an effectual repression. This truth has long since struck reflecting minds; it has lately become still more evident. To satisfy the wants which caused its institution, the repression ought to be prompt and strong; it has been slow, weak, and almost null. When it interferes, the mischief is already done, and the punishment, far from repairing it, only adds the scandal of discussion.

"The judicial prosecution is wearied out, but the seditious press is never weary. The one stops because there is too much to prosecute; the other multiplies its strength by multiplying its transgressions. In these diverse circumstances the prosecutions have had their appearances of activity or of relaxation. But what does the press care for zeal or lukewarmness in the public prosecutor? It seeks in multiplying its offences the certainty of their impunity.

"The insufficiency, or even the inutility of the institutions established in the laws now in force, is demonstrated by facts. It is equally proved by facts that the public safety is endangered by the licentiousness of the press. It is time, it is more than time, to arrest its ravages.

"Give ear, Sire, to the prolonged cry of indignation and of terror which rises from all points of your kingdom. All peaceable men, the upright, the friends of order, stretch to your Majesty their suppliant hands. All implore you to preserve them from the return of the calamities by which their fathers or themselves have been so severely afflicted. These alarms are too real not to be listened to—these wishes are too legitimate not to be regarded.

"There is but one means to satisfy them: it is to return to the Charter (*rentrer dans la Charte*).

"If the terms of the 8th article are ambiguous, its spirit is manifest. It is certain that the Charter has not given the liberty of the journals and of periodical writings. The right of publishing one's personal opinions certainly does not imply the right of publishing the opinions of others. The one is the use of a faculty which the law might leave free or subject to restrictions: the other is a commercial speculation, which, like others, and more than others, supposes the superintendence of the public authority.

"The intentions of the Charter on this subject are accurately explained in the law of the 21st of October, 1814, which is in some measure the appendix to it: this is the less doubtful, as this law was presented to the Chambers on the 5th of July; that is to say, one month after the promulgation of the Charter. In 1819, at the time when a contrary system prevailed in the Chambers, it was openly proclaimed that the periodical press was not governed by the enactments of the 8th article. This truth is besides attested by the very laws which have imposed upon the journals the condition of giving securities.

"Now, Sire, nothing remains but to enquire how this return to the Charter, and to

the law of the 21st of October, 1814, is to be effected. The gravity of the present juncture has solved this question.

"We must not deceive ourselves; we are no longer in the ordinary condition of a representative government. The principles on which it has been established could not remain entire amidst the political vicissitudes. A turbulent democracy, which has penetrated even into our laws, tends to put itself in the place of legitimate power. It disposes of the majority of the elections by means of the journals and the assistance of numerous affiliations. It has paralysed, as far as has depended on it, the regular exercise of the most essential prerogative of the Crown—that of dissolving the elective chamber. By this very thing the constitution of the state is shaken. Your Majesty alone retains the power to replace and consolidate it upon its foundations.

"The right as well as the duty of assuring its maintenance is the inseparable attribute of the sovereignty. No government on earth would remain standing, if it had not the right to provide for its own security. This power exists before the laws, because it is in the nature of things. These, Sire, are maxims which have in their favor the sanction of time, and the assent of all the publicists of Europe.

"But these maxims have another sanction still more positive—that of the Charter itself. The 14th article has invested your Majesty with a sufficient power, not undoubtedly to change our institutions, but to consolidate them and render them more stable.

"Circumstances of imperious necessity do not permit the exercise of this supreme power to be any longer deferred. The moment is come to have recourse to measures which are in the spirit of the Charter, but which are beyond the limits of legal order, the resources of which have been exhausted in vain.

"These measures, Sire, your Ministers, who are to secure the success of them, do not hesitate to propose to you, convinced as they are that justice will remain the strongest.

"We are, with the most profound respect, Sire, your Majesty's most humble and most faithful subjects,

(Signed)

"Prince de POLIGNAC.

"CHANTELAUZE.

"Baron D'HAUSSEZ.

"Count de PEYRONNET.

"MONTBEL.

"Count de GUERNON RANVILLE.

"Baron CAPELLE."

ORDINANCES OF THE KING.

I. ORDINANCE AGAINST THE PRESS.

" CHARLES, &c.

" To all to whom these presents shall come, health.

" On the report of our Council of Ministers, we have ordained and ordain as follows :—

" Art. 1. The liberty of the periodical press is suspended.

" 2. The regulations of the articles 1st, 2nd, and 9th of the 1st section of the law of the 21st of October, 1814, are again put in force, in consequence of which no journal, or periodical, or semi-periodical writing, established, or about to be established, without distinction of the matters therein treated, shall appear either in Paris or in the departments, except by virtue of an authority first obtained from us respectively by the authors and the printer. This authority shall be renewed every three months. It may also be revoked.

" 3. The authority shall be provisionally granted and provisionally withdrawn by the prefects from journals and periodicals, or semi-periodical works, published or about to be published in the departments.

" 4. Journals and writings published in contravention of article 2 shall be immediately seized. The presses and types used in the printing of them shall be placed in a public dépôt under seals, or rendered unfit for use.

" 5. No writing below twenty printed pages shall appear, except with the authority of our Minister, Secretary of State for the Interior of Paris, and of the prefects in the departments. Every writing of more than twenty printed pages, which shall not constitute one single work, must also equally be published under authority only. Writings published without authority shall be immediately seized; the presses and types used in printing them shall be placed in a public dépôt, and under seals, or rendered unfit for use.

" 6. Memoirs relating to legal process, and memoirs of scientific and literary societies, must be previously authorized, if they treat in whole or in part of political matters, in which case the measures prescribed by article 5 shall be applicable.

" 7. Every regulation contrary to the present shall be without effect.

" 8. The execution of the present ordinance shall take place in conformity to article 4 of the ordinance of November 27, 1816, and of that which is prescribed in the ordinance of the 18th of January, 1817.

" 9. Our Secretaries of State are charged with the execution of this ordinance.

" Given at Chateau St. Cloud, the 25th of July, of the year of Grace 1830, and the 6th of our reign.

(Signed)

" CHARLES.

(Countersigned)

" Prince de POLIGNAC, President.

" CHANTELAUZE, Keeper of the Seals.

" Baron D'HAUSSEZ, Minister of Marine.

" MONTBEL, Minister of Finance.

" Count GUERNON RANVILLE,
Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

" Baron CAPELLE, Secretary of State
for Public Works."

II. ORDINANCE ANNULLING THE ELECTIONS OF THE DEPUTIES.

" CHARLES, &c.

" To all to whom these presents shall come, &c.

" Having considered Art. 50 of the Constitutional Charter; being informed of the manœuvres which have been practised in various parts of our kingdom, to deceive and mislead the electors during the late operations of the electoral colleges; having heard our council; we have ordained and ordain as follows :—

" Art. 1. The Chamber of Deputies of Departments is dissolved.

" 2. Our Minister, Secretary of State of the Interior, is charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

" Given at St. Cloud, the 25th day of July, the year of Grace 1830, and the sixth of our reign.

" CHARLES.

(Countersigned)

" Count de PEYRONNET, Peer of France,
Secretary of State for the Interior."

III. ORDINANCE ABRIDGING THE RIGHT OF ELECTION.

" CHARLES, &c.

" To all those who shall see these presents, health.

" Having resolved to prevent the return of the manœuvres which have exercised a pernicious influence on the late operations of the electoral colleges, wishing in consequence to reform according to the principles of the Constitutional Charter the rules of Election, of which experience has shown the inconvenience, we have recognized the necessity of using the right which belongs to us, to provide by acts emanating from ourselves for the safety of the state, and for the suppression of every enterprise injurious to the dignity of our crown. For these reasons, having

heard our council, we have ordained and ordained—

“Art. 1. Conformably to the articles 15, 36, and 30, of the Constitutional Charter, the Chamber of Deputies shall consist only of Deputies of Departments.

“2. The electoral rate and the rate of eligibility shall consist exclusively of the sums for which the elector and the candidate shall be inscribed individually, as holders of real or personal property, in the roll of the land tax or of personal taxes.

“3. Each department shall have the number of deputies allotted to it by the 36th article of the Constitutional Charter.

“4. The deputies shall be elected, and the chamber renewed, in the form and for the time fixed by the 37th article of the Constitutional Charter.

“5. The electoral colleges shall be divided into colleges of arrondissement and colleges of departments, except the case of electoral colleges of departments, to which only one deputy is allotted.

“6. The electoral colleges of arrondissement shall consist of all the electors whose political domicile is established in the arrondissement. The electoral colleges of departments shall consist of a fourth part, the highest taxed, of the electors of departments.

“7. The present limits of the electoral colleges of arrondissements are retained.

“8. Every electoral college of arrondissement shall elect a number of candidates equal to the number of departmental deputies.

“9. The college of arrondissement shall be divided into as many sections as candidates. Each division shall be in proportion to the number of sections, and to the total number of electors, having regard as much as possible to the convenience of place and neighbourhood.

“10. The sections of the electoral college of arrondissements may assemble in different places.

“11. Every section of the electoral college of arrondissements shall choose a candidate, and proceed separately.

“12. The presidents of the sections of the electoral college of arrondissement shall be nominated by the prefects from among the electors of the arrondissement.

“13. The college of department shall choose the deputies; half the deputies of departments shall be chosen from the general list of candidates proposed by the colleges of arrondissements: nevertheless, if the number of deputies of the department is uneven, the division shall be made without impeachment of the right reserved by the college of department.

“14. In cases where, by the effect of

omissions, of void or double nominations, the list of candidates proposed by the colleges of arrondissements shall be incomplete, if the list is reduced below half the number required, the college of department shall choose another deputy not in the list; if the list is reduced below a fourth, the college of department may elect beyond the whole of the deputies of department.

“15. The prefects, the sub-prefects, and the general officers commanding military divisions and departments, are not to be elected in the departments where they exercise their functions.

“16. The list of electors shall be settled by the prefect in the Council of Prefecture. It shall be posted up five days before the assembling of the colleges.

“17. Claims regarding the power of voting which have not been authorized by the prefects shall be decided by the Chamber of Deputies; at the same time that it shall decide upon the validity of the operations of the colleges.

“18. In the electoral colleges of department, the two oldest electors and the two electors who pay the most taxes shall execute the duty of scrutators.

“The same disposition shall be observed in the sections of the college of arrondissement, composed, at most, of only fifty electors. In the other college sections the functions of scrutators shall be executed by the oldest and the richest of the electors. The secretary shall be nominated in the college of the section of colleges by the president and the scrutators.

“19. No person shall be admitted into the college, or section of college, if he is not inscribed in the list of electors who compose part of it. This list will be delivered to the president, and will remain posted up in the place of the sitting of the college, during the period of its proceedings.

“20. All discussion and deliberation whatever are forbidden in the bosom of the electoral colleges.

“21. The police of the college belongs to the President. No armed force without his order can be placed near the hall of sittings. The military commandant shall be bound to obey his requisitions.

“22. The nominations shall be made in the colleges and sections of college by the absolute majority of the votes given. Nevertheless, if the nominations are not finished after two rounds of scrutiny, the bureau shall determine the list of persons who shall have obtained the greatest number of suffrages at the second round. It shall contain a number of names double that of the nominations which remain to be made. At the third

round, no suffrages can be given except to the persons inscribed on that list, and the nominations shall be made by a relative majority.

"23. The electors shall vote by bulletins; every bulletin shall contain as many names as there are nominations to be made.

"24. The electors shall write their vote on the bureau, or cause it to be written by one of the scrutators.

"25. The name, the qualification, and the domicile of each elector who shall deposit his bulletin, shall be inscribed by the secretary on a list destined to establish the number of the voters.

"26. Every scrutiny shall remain open for six hours; and shall be declared during the sitting.

"27. There shall be drawn up a *proces verbal* for each sitting. This *proces verbal* shall be signed by all the members of the bureau.

"28. Conformably to article 46 of the Constitutional Charter, no amendment can be made upon any law in the Chamber, unless it has been proposed and consented to by us; and unless it has been discussed in the bureaux.

"29. All regulations contrary to the present ordinance shall remain without effect.

"30. Our Ministers, Secretaries of State, are charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

"Given at St. Cloud, this 25th day of July, in the year of grace 1830, and 6th of our reign.

"CHARLES."

(Countersigned by all the Ministers.)

These ordinances of the King, of Sunday the 25th of July, with the preceding Report of the Ministers, were sent for insertion the following morning to the *Moniteur*.

MONDAY, JULY 26.

The *Moniteur* in France bears the same relation to the Government that the *London Gazette* does in England. It is the official paper, and has been so under every Government:—the Directory—the Consulate—Napoleon—Louis XVIII.—Napoleon during the hundred days—Louis XVIII. again—and his successor, Charles X.

On the publication of the *Moniteur* this morning, its readers were astounded by the mystifying Report of the Ministers to Charles X., and the king's arbitrary Ordinances. A person who breakfasted at one of the cafés describes something of the effect produced by the illegal acts on the people assembled while he was sitting there. "A man entered, and, with a significant gesture, deposited at the bar a packet of Journals. The young lady who presided opened them of course, and, having glanced at them, beckoned to the proprietor of the café, and, with an air of astonishment, put one of them into his hands. He read a few lines—his eye fell lower—he struck his forehead with his open hand, exclaiming, 'I am ruined!' He immediately proceeded to lay upon the different tables copies of the *Moniteur*. In an instant they were grasped with eagerness—an unusual circumstance with that official organ—when 'Monstrous! scandalous! abominable!' burst from each reader. 'What is the matter, Sir?' I asked of one of them. 'The Chamber is dissolved!' exclaimed one;

'The liberty of the press is suspended!' said another; 'The Charter is violated!' said a third. A fourth, although evidently excited similarly with the others, showed, in addition, other symptoms of dissatisfaction, and the working of his mind, in these words, addressing a friend:—'B****, I shall run off instantly to Tortoni's—the Three per Cents will be down three francs in half an hour—I must see my broker instantly.'" The latter speaker had not misconceived the effect: the *Rentes* fell rapidly, and the Bank stopped its discounts.

In Paris are the greater number of those electors whom the ordinances relating to the elections purposed to disfranchise; besides these, there are the conductors of the Journals, and a great number of literary men, whose feelings and interests were violated by the Ordinance against the press. Every mind was filled with indignation, and each man determined of himself, and upon the instant, to resist these aggressions of the King and his treasonable ministry. The first overt act seems to have been manifested by M. Charles Dunoyer. He addressed a letter to the *National*, declaring that he would not pay taxes until the ordinances were repealed; for that, when the Government violated its engagements with the people, their duty of obedience ceased. The editor of the *National* conferred with his coadjutors of the daily Press, and he courageously published his paper,

in contempt of the ordinances, with the following

"DECLARATION OF EDITORS OF JOURNALS.

"Paris, July 26.

"It has for these six months past often been announced that the laws would be violated,—that a blow of arbitrary power would be struck. The good sense of the public refused to believe the report: the Ministry repelled the supposition as a calumny. However, the *Moniteur* has at last published those memorable ordinances which are the most striking violation of the laws. Legal government is therefore interrupted, and that of force has commenced.

"In the situation in which we are placed obedience ceases to be a duty. The citizens first called upon to obey are the writers of the journals; they ought to give the first example of resistance to authority which has divested itself of a legal character.

"The reasons on which they rely are such that it suffices to announce them.

"The matters regulated by the ordinances now published are those on which royal authority cannot, according to the Charter, decide singly. The Charter (Art. 8) declares that the French, in affairs of the press, shall be bound to conform to the laws; it does not say to the ordinances. The Charter (Art. 35) says that the organization of the electoral colleges shall be regulated by laws; it does not say by ordinances.

"The crown itself has hitherto recognized these articles. It never entertained the thought of arming itself against them, either with a pretended constituent power, or with the power falsely attributed to Art. 14.

"In fact, on all occasions, when circumstances, pretended to be of a serious nature, have appeared to the crown to require a modification, either in the system of the press or the electoral system, it has had recourse to the two Chambers. When it was required to modify the Charter, for establishing septennial duration and integral renewal, it had recourse not to itself, as author of that Charter, but to the Chambers.

"Royalty has, therefore, of itself recognised and acted upon these articles 8 and 35, and has arrogated, with respect to them, either a constituent authority, or a dictatorial authority which nowhere exists.

"The tribunals which have the right of interpretation have solemnly recognised the same principles. The Royal Court of Paris condemned the publishers of the Breton Association as authors of an outrage on the government. They considered the supposition that the government could employ the author-

ity of ordinances, where the authority of the law can alone be admitted, as an outrage.

"Thus the formal text of the Charter, the practice hitherto followed by the Crown, and the decisions of the tribunals, establish, that with respect to the press, and electoral organization, the laws—that is to say, the King and the Chambers—can alone determine.

"The Government has therefore now violated legal order. We are dispensed from obeying. We shall endeavour to publish our journal without asking the authority which is imposed on us. We shall do our best, in order that, for the present at least, it shall reach all parts of France.

"This is what our duty as citizens dictates, and we fulfil it.

"It is not for us to point out to the Chamber, illegally dissolved, its duties; but we may supplicate it, in the name of France, to rely on its evident right, and to resist with all its power the violation of the laws. Its right is as certain as that on which we rely. The Charter declares, Art. 50, that the King may dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, but in order to do that it is necessary that it shall have been assembled, and constituted a Chamber, and, in fine, that it shall have maintained a system capable of provoking its dissolution. But, before the meeting and the constitution of the Chamber, there is nothing but the election of deputies. Now in no part of the Charter is it said that the King can annul the elections. The ordinances now published do nothing but annul the elections. They are therefore illegal, because they do that which the Charter does not authorize.

"The Deputies elected and convoked for the 3rd of August are therefore well and truly elected and convoked. Their right to-day is the same as it was yesterday. France implores them not to forget it. Whatever they can do to make that right prevail, it is their duty to do.

"The Government has this day lost the character of legality which commands obedience. We resist it in what concerns ourselves. It is for France to determine how far her resistance ought to extend.

"The following editors and managers of journals, now in Paris, have signed:—

"MM.

"GAUJA, manager of the *National*.

"THIERS, MIGNET, CABREL, CHAMBOLE PEYSSE, ALBERT, STAFFER, DUBOCHET, ROLLE, editors of the *National*.

"LEROUX, manager of the *Globe*.

"DE GUIZARD, editor of the *Globe*.

"SARRANS, jun., manager of the *Courrier des Electeurs*.

"B. DEJEAN, editor of the *Globe*.

* GUYET, MOUSSETTE, editors of the *Courrier*.

"M. AUGUSTE FABRE, chief editor of the *Tribune des Départemens*.

"M. ANNÉE, editor of the *Constitutionnel*.

"M. CAUCHOIS-LEMAIRE, editor of the *Constitutionnel*.

"SENTY, of the *Temps*.

"HAUSSMAN, of the *Temps*.

"AVENEL, of the *Courrier Français*.

"DUSSARD, of the *Temps*.

"LEVASSEUR, editor of the *Révolution*.

"EVARISTE DUMOULIN.

"ALEXIS DE JUSSIEU, editor of the *Courrier Français*.

"CHATELAIN, manager of the *Courrier Français*.

"PLAGNOL, chief editor of the *Révolution*.

"FAZY, editor of the *Révolution*.

"BUZONI, BARBAROUX, editors of the *Temps*.

"CHALAS, editor of the *Temps*.

"A. BILLIARD, editor of the *Temps*.

"ADER, of the *Tribunes des Départemens*.

"F. LARREGUY, editor of the *Journal du Commerce*.

"J. F. DUPONT, advocate, editor of the *Courrier Français*.

"CH. DE REMUSAT, of the *Globe*.

"V. DE LAPELOUZE, one of the managers of the *Courrier Français*.

"BOHAIN ET ROQUEPLAN, of the *Figaro*.

"COSTE, manager of the *Temps*.

"J.-J. BAUDE, editor of the *Temps*.

"BERT, manager of the *Commerce*.

"LEON PILLET, manager of the *Journal de Paris*.

"VAILLANT, manager of the *Sylphe*."

Another paper, the *Journal du Commerce*, expressed its opinion of the obnoxious ordinances, in the subjoined spirited article:—

"VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER—ABOLITION OF THE LAWS.

Paris, July 26th.

"Violence has triumphed in the councils of the King. The Constitution of the State is attacked in its foundations. The body politic is dissolved. France is replaced, by the crime of the Ministers, in the provisional situation from which the Charter had raised it on the 14th of June, 1814. The legal title which would legitimate the raising of the taxes in 1831 has just been destroyed.

"The crime for which Ministers are going to answer before the nation has been characterised by the Royal Court of Paris, in the sentence passed upon us with respect to the Breton subscription. In condemning us for having published that document the Magistrates have declared that the imputation was

odious which ascribed to Ministers the intention of overthrowing the basis of the constitutional guarantees established by the Charter, and the design attributed to them criminal, either to enact and levy taxes not assented to by the two Chambers, or to change illegally the mode of the election.

"This odious imputation has become an official truth: this criminal intention is realised."

On the other hand, the *Gazette de France*, a Journal devoted to the court, defended the ordinances, by alleging that the representative system was not affected! that the decrees were countersigned by seven responsible Ministers! that this was the third time since the restoration that the elections had been altered by royal ordinances! that the liberty of the press was only suspended! that these measures were essential to the maintenance of the royal prerogative! and were rendered imperative by the necessity of preserving established order, and the institutions which Royalty had "given to its people!" Unfortunately for royalty, "its people" were of another opinion; and the proprietors of the Journals in whom the people confided were determined to maintain public liberty, by opposing the pen to the sword.

One of Polignac's friends remonstrated with him to-day, and endeavoured to enforce the fact that the ordinances endangered the dynasty: the Minister answered, "Our plan is complete; every thing is settled:—the rest must be left to the gendarmerie!"

Meetings of opulent citizens were held for the purpose of considering what course to pursue, and they resolved not to pay the current taxes, lest the money should be applied to the final subjugation of the Chamber of Deputies and the periodical press. The *Bourse* (Exchange) was crowded to excess. In every face there was either stupefaction or alarm. All enquired, "What is to be done?" "What step can be taken to avert ruin?" The *Rentes* fell alarmingly. The noted jobber Ouvrard had been entrusted with the secret of the *coup d'état*: he arranged accordingly, and made an immense sum by the fall. M. Rothschild was excluded from the confidence of Ministers, and lost as much as his rival gained.

There were at this time in Paris the Deputies representing the electors of the city, and some of the Deputies from other parts of the kingdom. They assembled, to the number of thirty-two, and deliberated at the house of the Deputy M. Lafitte, the banker. A number of constitutional peers hastily met at the Duke de Choiseul's. At each of these meetings it was resolved not to submit. The Peers signed a protest, and sent it by a depu-

tation to the King. He refused to receive it. This rejection strengthened the resolution of the Deputies, and forty couriers were sent with despatches to towns and villages within a hundred miles of the metropolis, representing the outrages of the Government, and urging the inhabitants to co-operate with the Parisians in a determined stand for the liberties of France.

In the mean time the Government was on the alert, and sent a general officer to Grenoble, and another to Angers, for military purposes. The military command of Paris was entrusted to the marshal Duke of Ragusa (Marmont). Troops were ordered in from the barracks within fifty miles around. It was evident that the King and his Ministers were bent on enforcing obedience to their ordinances by arms. The guards in the city were doubled. Towards the evening bodies of Gendarmes were stationed about the Bourse, and on the Boulevards.

These demonstrations, which dismayed and agitated every mind, were made while Charles X. was deaf to the teachings of an awful experience, and to the fearful representations of the few honest persons whom he allowed to approach him. He left the execution of his royal will to his ministers—as if the people had nothing to do, and would do nothing, with the Ordinances but obey them. But the people were of a different temper. In consequence of the Bank refusing to discount bills, the manufacturers perceived it had not confidence in the Government, and they immediately discharged their workmen. These artisans congregated in the different streets and reported what had happened to listening throngs. Lovers of news rushed to the offices of Journals which contained second editions, with the obnoxious ordinances. The Ministers were not willing that a knowledge of their own acts should extend to the provinces. Most of the papers put into the post-office were withheld, and the prefect of police, M. Mangin, issued the annexed

ORDINANCE.

"WE, PREFECT OF POLICE, &c., seeing the ordinance of the King, dated the 25th inst., which puts again in force articles 1, 2, and 9, of the law of the 21st of October, 1814, &c., have ordained and ordain as follows:—

"Art. 1. Every individual who shall distribute printed writings, on which there shall not be the true indication of the names, profession, and residence of the author and of the printer, or who shall give to the public the same writings to read, shall be brought

before the Commissary of Police of the quarter, and the writings shall be seized.

"2. Every individual keeping a reading room, coffee-house, &c., who shall give to be read journals, or other writings, printed contrary to the ordinance of the King of the 25th inst., relative to the press, shall be prosecuted as guilty of the misdemeanors which these journals or writings may constitute, and his establishment shall be provisionally closed.

"3. The present ordinance shall be printed, published, and posted up.

"4. The Commissary Chief of Municipal Police, the Commissaries of Police, shall be enjoined to see to the execution of it. It shall also be addressed to the Colonel of the city of Paris, commander of the Royal Gendarmes, to cause the execution of it as far as he is concerned."

Mangin's ordinance, posted on the walls in all parts of the city, heightened the general discontent. It was plain there were to be fewer papers, and each with only such small flowings of adulterated intelligence as Prince Polignac and his confederates would allow to dribble out. Newspapers with a Frenchman's coffee in the morning are as essential to his existence as sugared water and a dance in the evening. He neither does, nor can he do, without them: M. Mangin's ordinance was honored with as much contempt as the ordinance of his masters. The officers of this functionary cleared the coffee-houses and reading-rooms of visitors, and shut up these and other places of resort for amusement or refreshment. By order of the police, the theatres were closed. These precautionary measures were by no means effective. The Government spies prowled in redoubled numbers, and were enabled to inform their employers that all Paris was in a state of high sedition.

These commotions alarmed foreigners journeying in Paris, and they hastened to the ambassadors of their respective nations for information and advice. Lord Stuart, the English Minister, was agitated and confused, and dismissed his anxious countrymen with expressions of hope that all would end quietly. The passport office was crowded with persons desirous of leaving France immediately.

At the Champs Elysées there were in the evening, as usual, several bands of itinerant musicians performing in front of the groups seated in the grand Allée, and in front of the cafés. One of these bands, composed of two men and two women, sang a few airs, accompanying themselves on the guitar, and commenced another. They had not sung three words before a well-dressed man whispered

something in the ear of the leader. The music stopped, and another air was commenced. The interruption came from one of the innumerable agents of the police. The song prohibited was to the tune of one which contained a reference to the destruction of the Bastille.

In the course of the day the gendarmerie were objects of popular dislike, which was chiefly manifested by words. Several shops and public buildings were closed; and, much earlier than was customary, all the shops in the Palais Royal were shut up. Young men, chiefly the sons of tradesmen, paraded the streets with walking-sticks containing small swords, which they drew occasionally and flourished in the air, at the same time uttering loud cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" As the night closed in, they were joined by persons of more fashionable appearance, with similar

sticks and pistols. Crowds of artisans, with bludgeons, rushed along, vociferating "*Vive la Liberte!*" Until a late hour there were tumultuous cries: the prevailing one was "*Vive la Charte!*" The windows were broken at the Treasury, at Polignac's hotel in the Palais Royal, and at the hotel of Montbel, the Minister of Finance, in the Rue Rivoli. No other violence was committed—except, perhaps, that, as was reported, one of the gendarmerie was shot after the darkness had set in. Charles X. came privately to Paris, and slept at the Duchess of Berri's, while many of the people of Paris passed the night in devising means for opposing the arbitrary domination he had assumed. The morrow that dawned upon his fatuitous slumbers witnessed his outraged subjects in wakeful deliberation.

TUESDAY, JULY 27.

The glorious sun which arose this morning upon the city of Paris lighted the people to early co-operation against the lawless will of Charles X., and him, at a later hour, to a shooting party at St. Cloud with the duke d'Angouleme, a man after his own heart, equally weak, rash, obstinate, and blind to consequences. On Sunday the ordinances were signed, and, to the perverse obliquity of the king's mind, his signature settled the business. On the following day, Monday, he and the duke took their guns and indulged in field-sports, and arranged to shoot together till Wednesday. These silly men expected as little resistance from the people as from the game which rose before them, to be brought down with their rifles. If the people rose, they were game—to be brought down by the gens-d'armee.

This morning the heads of the University issued a public notice to the students of all the schools of the University, prohibiting them "from taking part in any illegal assemblages and public disorders, &c." This notice was signed by the Count de Guernon Ranville.

Although no respect was shown yesterday to the ordinance of M. Mangin, the Prefect of Police, against the Journalists and keepers of reading-rooms, yet to-day he ventured to issue the following:—

TO THE INHABITANTS OF PARIS.

"Since the night before last, grievous outrages have been committed in Paris by seditious mobs.

"Robbery, house-breaking, and assassination by daggers, mark the presence of a great number of villains in the metropolis.

"Inhabitants of Paris, avoid these wretches.

"Let not an indecent curiosity tempt you to mingle in their assemblies.

"Remain in your dwellings.

"At night place lamps in your casements, to enlighten the public ways.

"Prove by the prudence and good sense that shall govern your conduct that you are strangers to the excesses which must disgrace you if you take part in them."

The Press—that machine which, when once in action, can no more be stayed or stopped than the orb of day—had kept its course bravely yesterday. To day some prudent constitutional journals, bowing to the ordinances and the police—unconstitutionally applied for licences to exist, but were refused, and suicidally extinguished. A few were licensed to appear under a strict censorship, and "swung blind and blackening." Others—in disdain and defiance of the police, the censors, the royal ordinances, the traitorous ministers, and the arbitrary king—came out, self-privileged, under "the liberty of unlicensed printing," exposing and denouncing the outrages of the court, and in unmeasured language vehemently urging the people to stand forth, and vanguard the efforts of the Press for the liberties of France.

On this day the journals appear to have been in the situation about to be described.

The *Moniteur*, the official paper of the government, made no allusion to the recent events. It contained an order which directed that all prefects, sub-prefects, and secretaries general, should return immediately to their posts. It

further contained the following *errata* in the ordinances:—"The first article of the ordinance for the meeting of the electoral colleges should state that the electoral colleges of the departments are to meet on the 13th of September, not on the 18th—In the first article of the ordinance which lays down the rules of election, and prescribes the execution of article 46 of the Charter, instead of the words 'conformably to articles 15, 36, and 30,' are to be read '15, 36, and 50, of the Constitutional Charter.'"

The *Message des Chambres* appeared under a license with this introductory notice—"Paris, July 27th. At so critical a moment we have considered whether we should let our paper appear, or cease to exist. Strong in our consciences and our principles, we have thought that an opposition journal was still necessary, not to discuss acts which we will not characterize, and which, under present circumstances, we cannot discuss, but to collect facts, to give them to the public, and to rectify them if they should be disfigured by the Ministerial journals. Thus we suspend for the present all discussion, preferring silence to a complaisant or forced mutilation of our ideas."

The *Journal du Commerce* appealed from the ordinances to the laws, and obtained a judgment in favor of the press. The following ordinance of the president, De Belleyne, authorised the printer. "Considering the ordinance of the King of the 25th, relative to the press, has not been promulgated according to the forms prescribed by the ordinance of the 27th of November, 1826, and that of the 18th of January, 1817: We order M. Selligie to proceed to the composition and printing of the *Journal du Commerce*, which is to appear to-morrow."

The *France Nouvelle* was honored with a similar ordinance, addressed to its printer, M. Plassau. This recreant of the press refused to comply, and the courageous editors could not bring out their journal.

The *Courrier Français* was not published, for a similar reason, assigned by its conductors in the following spirited circular addressed to their subscribers:—

Paris, July 27th.

"Sir,

"Yesterday evening, at the moment for putting the *Journal* to press, the printer of the *Courrier Français*, intimidated by the threats of the police, signified to us his refusal to print it. The dispute has been referred to the tribunals. We shall employ all legal means to make our right triumph; but we shall not apply for a license, which would seem to imply our submission to acts which violate the Charter and the laws.

"The citizens who have been concerned

in editing and publishing the *Courrier Français* will protest to the last; and will rather make a sacrifice of their property, than yield to arbitrary measures and to violence.

"The Managers of the *Courrier Français*,
"V. DE LAPELOUZE.
"CHATELAIN."

Galigani's Messenger was not published. His whole establishment was closed.

The *London Express* was not published.

The *Constitutionnel*, a journal with 17,000 subscribers, was printed but not published. It was suppressed by the police; a sentry was placed at the office door to prevent its distribution.

The *Universal*, the *Quotidienne*, the *Gazette de France*, and the *Drapeau Blanc*, being papers devoted to the government, were licensed and published.

The *Courrier des Theatres* appeared with the play-bills of the day only.

The *Petites Affiches*, containing advertisements only, also appeared.

The *Journal des Salons*, relating only to costumes, fashions, furniture, &c., was published.

The *NATIONAL* resisted and was published early in the morning, *without a licence*. It contained a letter from M. Charles Dunoyer, declaring that he would not pay taxes until the ordinances were repealed.

The *TEMPS* resisted and was published *without a licence*.

The *FIGARO* resisted and was also published *without a licence*.

The *National* and the *Temps*, by secret arrangements and private presses, were printed and published in despite of the vigilance of the police. The proprietors of each of these journals, influenced by a noble scorn, refused to apply for licenses, and threatened if force were offered to them they would repel it by force. These courageous papers were issued *gratuitously* at the offices, and thence they were distributed, and voraciously read in every quarter. The excellent young men who conducted the *National* had contrived to circulate the paper to its subscribers, and afterwards, with their own hands, they gave away a multitude of copies to the people that thronged their door, with an injunction to each individual to take arms in defence of their country against its tyrants. By this means the news of the odious ordinances and the calls to resistance, which until then had been confined within circles, were extended throughout Paris to the stupefaction of many thousands, who were unacquainted with the proceedings of yesterday. In vain did the commissaries of police go round to all the cafés and reading-rooms to prevent the giving out of the *National* and the *Temps* for perusal; for they had been read, and the news communicated.

A Paris letter of this day well describes the anxieties and views of the people:—"I went," says the writer, "at half-past seven o'clock this morning, to the Palais Royal, anxious to see the Paris Journals figuring in their barrenness—I mean divested of that sickening mass of rubbish with which, under the name of *Hautes Politiques*, their columns used to be loaded. The *Moniteur*, the *Universel*, and the *Quotidienne*, had arrived—no others were to be found in the four beautiful Pavilions de Lecture which adorn the garden, nor in any of the cafés; but several young men rushed through the garden, distributing profusely and gratuitously *Le Temps*, *Le National*, and *Figaro*. Early as was the hour, the garden contained not fewer than 500 men. Those who had copies of the papers above mentioned were immediately surrounded by crowds, to whom they read the unquestionably inflammatory matter contained in those papers. In one instance an agent of Police interfered, but in no more than I saw. The language of those journals was heard with deep attention, and followed by no comment. In many instances those who had already heard them ran unsated to another group to hear once more, and probably for the last time, the bold accents of liberty. I entered the café, and entering into conversation with the proprietor, asked him what he meant by saying yesterday, when he first read the Royal Ordinances, that he was ruined? 'Good God, Sir, how can you ask? Look at my café to day, and recollect what it was at this hour yesterday. You are now its sole occupant—yesterday it was with difficulty you found a place in which to sit. This Ordinance for suspending the liberty of the press will destroy hundreds of thousands of families—the keepers of coffee-houses and reading-rooms and libraries, editors, printers, publishers, paper-makers. The *Constitutionnel* sold between 15,000 and 20,000 copies daily—it will not sell 5000 hereafter. Take these as instances. But I do not grieve solely on these accounts, although I shall participate in the general ruin. I have some public feeling—I grieve for the destruction of the Charter. It is true, as I pay more than the required sum in direct taxes, that I do not participate in the *destitution* of the smaller voters (the class whose qualification consisted in their paying 300 francs a-year only); but I must, and I do, feel for the loss of the political rights of my fellow citizens. The number of voters disqualified by the ordinance in the city of Paris alone is not less than 9500. The number that will remain does not amount to more than 1900. Here, therefore, in all

probability, but certainly in most of the Departments, the Ministry may reckon on the success of the Government candidates. The Chamber, so composed, will pass any law presented to it; you may guess, therefore, that there is an end of liberty in France."

In the *Drapeau Blanc*, a court journal, there was a paragraph of extraordinary import. "It is certain that the council of the day before yesterday did justice to a pretty considerable number of functionaries whose opinions, and, in case of need, whose votes, do not agree with the monarchical spirit which animates the King's Government." There cannot be a doubt but that Charles X. and his Ministers designed to erect a despotism in France upon the ruins of the Charter.

Several hours elapsed after the publication of the *National* and the *Temps* without a movement against the editors. The king and his guilty ministers must have seen these journals soon after they were issued, and probably much of the interval was employed in determining what should be done with the offenders.

About noon the police and a large force of gens-d'armes, mounted and on foot, appeared before the office of the *National*, in the Rue St. Marc. They found the door fast closed; and, being refused entrance, broke in, seized the types, and carried the *redacteur-en-chef* to prison, leaving five mounted gens-d'armes to blockade the entrance of the street. The same force went to the office of the *Temps*, in the Rue Richelieu, where, the door being locked and admission denied, a smith was sent for to break it open, but he refused to act. Another smith was procured, who picked the lock and opened the door. Still there was no entrance; for the doorway within was barricaded, and a body of honest printers inside vowed to defend the blockaded pass, and the press, with their lives. The commissaries of police, however, by some means, got in, and seized the papers that remained and the types. The crowds as yet could only oppose resentful looks, and cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" to military operations.

The people, already irritated by the reading of the journals, and aggravated by the pouring in of troops and the seizure of the presses, heartened each other with shouts for liberty and their country. Agitation prevailed throughout Paris: the Bourse was crowded to excess, and inflammatory papers were thrown in upon the assembly—"Death to Ministers, and infamy to the soldiers who defend them!"—"Aux armes Français!" The funds of course dropped as popular excitement heightened.

After this notice of the state of the daily

press, and the sensation on the Exchange and among the loungers and frequenters of the cafés, it is proper to relate incidents that concerned the people generally. At day-break the inhabitants of Paris were reminded, by the thunder of the artillery exercising at Vincennes, that some hundreds of pieces of cannon were ready to pour into the city and sweep the streets. So early as five in the morning several battalions of the Guards were under arms in the Champs Elysées; and by seven o'clock groups began to form in the Palais Royal. The *National* and the *Temps*, the two patriotic papers which broke the ordinances by publishing without a license, and were given away, found eager readers in the assembled crowds. These journals were likewise read to the people in the city itself by enthusiastic persons mounted on chairs, and from the windows of the houses. There were repeated shouts of "*Vive la Charte!*" "Down with the King!" "Death to Polignac!" "Death to Peyronnet!" "Liberty or Death!" "*Vive la Republique!*"

A deputation of peers left Paris for St. Cloud; but the court had taken a headlong course, and perversely determined on enforcing obedience to its mandates. The deputies assembled, and were understood to have unanimously resolved that the ministers had placed themselves out of the pale of the law; that the people would be justified in refusing payment of the taxes; and that all the deputies should be summoned to meet on the 3rd of August, the day first appointed for their convocation.

By twelve o'clock there were at least 5000 people in the Palais Royal. The multitude was increased by printers thrown out of employment from suppression of the journals, and by workmen dismissed from the manufactories. The ferment rapidly heightened, especially among groups of electors of £12 a-year, whom the ordinance disfranchised, who listened to harangues from speakers mounted on chairs. Respectable tradesmen shut their shops, and hastened to the spot to hear the exhortations of the unlicensed journals amplified and enforced at the Palais Royal. One man said, "My brothers! Frenchmen! The miserable ministry has done its worst. Will you submit to be slaves? Hear what the National says to you! (He read passages urging resistance). Will you second the press? I know you will! Let us unite against our oppressors!" Answers of "Yes, yes! we will, we will unite!" were loudly vociferated. All the shopkeepers in the Palais Royal shut up their shops. A police officer had entered a shop to compel the taking down of a carica-

ture, and, being beaten by the proprietor, the police were hustled and attacked.

All work was abandoned, every manufactory closed, and detachments of artisans, with large sticks, traversed the streets. Troops of gens-d'armes patrolled in full gallop to disperse the accumulating crowds. The people were silent; and in half an hour the shops throughout Paris were closed. Troops of the Royal Guard, and soldiery of the line, came pouring in. The people looked sullen and determined. Their chief points of rendezvous were the Palais Royal, the Palais de Justice, and the Bourse. There were simultaneous cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" "Down with the absolute King!" but no conversation—no exchange of words with each other.

The King was at the Tuilleries. In the Place Carrousel there was a station of several thousands of the military, including the Lancers of the Royal Guard, with a great number of cannon. At the Place Vendôme a strong guard of infantry was stationed around the column, to guard the signs of royalty upon it from being defaced. Crowds of people assembled on the spot, and menaced the troops.

About four o'clock the prefect of police ordered the Palais Royal to be cleared by the gendarmerie. They charged with the flat of their sabres, drove out the people pell mell, and the gates were closed. The chairs lying about the walks in heaps were evidence of the general confusion.

Towards five o'clock there was a tumult in the Place du Palais Royal. The military fired. A gens-d'arme was killed by the people. A mounted gens-d'arme, going at a smart trot, with a despatch, was attacked by half a dozen young men, with sticks, to compel him to surrender his arms. A platoon of infantry of the same corps was despatched to rescue him, but, fearing they would be too late, they fired a volley (probably in the air), the people dispersed, and the orderly returned to his post.

About seven o'clock bodies of discharged workmen flocked into Paris from the environs, and dispersed about the city. The tumult and alarm increased as rapidly.—A single phrase—the revocation of the ordinances—might have restored tranquillity. The only intimation from the government was the arrival of fresh troops and cannon.

Armourers' shops were broken open and the arms carried off. The crowds assembled in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal, unpaved the Rue St. Honoré, as far as the Rue de l'Echelle, and, overturning a couple of large common waggons in the middle of the narrowest part of the street, made a kind

of entrenchment. They then broke up stones for missiles, and attacked an armourer's shop in the Rue de l'Echelle. Some squadrons of the Lancers of the Guard charged and dispersed the assailants, and finally put them to flight in the Rue St. Honoré. Battalions of the Royal Guard fired against the Rue de l'Echelle and the church of St. Roch. It was announced at those theatres which were open that the military were firing on the people, and the audiences rushed out to join their fellow citizens. In this affair several of the people were killed. The lanterns for lighting Paris, by hanging them from the middle of rope lines which reach from one side to the other of each street, were destroyed by parties of the people, who cut the lines and trod the lanterns beneath their feet. A band of artisans bore the corpse of one of their fallen comrades through the Rue Vivienne. As they passed a Swiss post, in the Rue Colbert, their cries of "Vengeance" were terrible. They took the body to the Place de la Bourse, and stripped and exhibited it, surrounded by candles, and the same fearful cries and shouts of "To arms! to arms!" Others of the slain borne to the houses of their families were silent but irresistible exhortations to resistance. The people execrated the king as the author of all the mischief. Their force was not organized. There existed no conspiracy, and therefore they did not act in concert. But their sentiment was the same, and the common feeling portended an awful and decisive struggle.

A tradesman left his house in the uniform of the National Guard, and was hailed with shouts of rapture. This uniform, with the arms of its wearers, had been ordered to be given up on the disbanding of the National Guard some years before. Some of the citizens had retained both, and these now resumed them in defence of the liberty of their country.

Near the Rue de l'Arbre Sec, one of the National Guard was arrested. He resisted—the people flew to the rescue, and the gens-d'armie let him go: a gens-d'arme said, "These are not the orders we have received." The appearance of the National Guard heightened the enthusiasm and increased the confidence of the people.

Some of the Royal Guard quitted their casernes and joined their countrymen. At ten o'clock a guard-house of the gens-d'armie at the Place de la Bourse was attacked, the guard expelled, and the guard-house set on fire. The building was of wood and burned fiercely: a party of sapeurs pompiers (firemen) arrived to extinguish the flames; they were resisted by the people and allowed themselves to be disarmed.

In the course of the day Prince Polignac was vainly followed in his carriage, as an object of attack, by a crowd of the incensed people. He was strongly guarded by military, and proceeded to his hotel in safety. At night he gave a grand dinner to his odious colleagues, under the protection of a battalion and ten pieces of artillery. He had been closeted with the relentless king during the greater part of the day. Neither the king nor any of his ministers had dared to show themselves in public for a moment.

To day the opinion of the English ambassador was of little use to his countrymen. They saw enough to alarm them, and a number left Paris with the utmost despatch.

Despatches were sent by the government in every direction, to hasten troops towards the capital. By the time that these orders had arrived several departments were in arms against the ordinances, and the mayors and prefects obliged to throw themselves on the mercy of the citizens, and to leave the question of military force and military arrangement to the inhabitants. A courier despatched to the Duchess d'Angouleme was arrested by the people, and his despatches taken from him and sent to the committee of Deputies.

In the mean while the Deputies had applied themselves to consider the measures necessary to be adopted. One of their resolutions was, that the National Guard should be immediately organized.

At this crisis, big with certain ruin to either the government of Charles X. or the liberties of the people, a momentous paper was addressed to the Journals with a letter, dated Paris, 27th July, and subscribed "By authorisation,—The Secretary of the Preparatory Re-union of free Frenchmen, D. M." The letter began thus:—"I am charged to transmit to you, with a request to insert it in your next number, the following document, which, after deliberation, was adopted this day by a numerous assembly, met spontaneously in order to concert the measures which circumstances render necessary, and indispensable, for the preservation of our rights, and the establishment of a true Constitutional Government."

The document alluded to was the following:—

"MANIFESTO TO THE FRENCH—TO ALL PEOPLE—AND TO ALL GOVERNMENTS.

"A solemn act had, in 1816, laid the basis of a reconciliation between the French nation and the ancient dynasty, and fixed the conditions by which the Chief of the BOURBON family should resume and preserve the exercise of the Royal authority—reiterated oaths have, at different epochs, ren-

dered more imperious the obligations contracted by the chiefs of this family, and had made their Charter the sole title to the obedience of the French. All these oaths have been violated during the last sixteen years, by the establishment of a great number of laws, opposed in their spirit and letter to the spirit of the Constitutional Charter; but each of the attempts hitherto made against this fundamental law had an appearance of legality, and had not exceeded legislative forms, which, while they had been preserved, offered the means of reparation. The French nation, with an equanimity which has often been called indifference or weakness, has supported itself against all the inroads of power, and all the attacks against its rights, made by the different Administrations which had succeeded each other under the reign of the astute LOUIS XVIII. as under that of his successor. The national patience, instead of bringing back the Government to sentiments of justice, of confidence, of benevolence, had, on the contrary, inspired it with sufficient audacity to march more openly to the overthrow of our institutions—to the spoliation of all our rights—to the re-establishment of those principles of Divine right—of those Royal Prerogatives, which are in opposition to the interests and the prerogatives of the people, which cannot be regarded otherwise than as an outrage to human reason, and which England first stigmatized with her anathemas, and destroyed by her arms. The Ordonnances of the 25th of the present month, in abolishing the principal guarantees consecrated by the Constitutional Charter, have set at nought the positive terms of that Charter, and of well-considered laws, adopted by the two Chambers and sanctioned by the King according to legal forms, and have at length taught the nation that the Chief which she had deigned to acknowledge, notwithstanding four years of vices, of corruptions, and of treasons against his country, wished to govern it by his own will, and according to the caprices of his own good pleasure. By these Ordonnances the Chief of the Government has placed himself above the Law; THEREFORE HE HAS PUT HIMSELF OUT OF THE PALE OF THE LAW.

"In consequence, CHARLES PHILLIP CA-

PET, formerly Count of ARTOIS, has ceased in right to be King of France; the French are released from all their obligations to him in that character. All the Ordonnances which he may promulge will be, like those of the 25th, null, and as if they never had been given. The Ministers composing the Government of the Ex-King, named POLIGNAC, PEYRONNET, MONTBEL, D'HAUSSEZ, DE CHANTELAUSE, and GUERNON RANVILLE, are declared attainted and convicted of high treason. It is the duty of all Frenchmen to resist, by every means in their power, the orders of CHARLES PHILLIP CAPET, or his agents, under whatever denomination they may present themselves—to refuse payment of all imposts, and to take arms, if it should be necessary, to put an end to a Government *de facto*, and to establish a new Government *de jure*.

"The army is released from its oaths of fidelity to the Ex-King—its country invokes its concurrence. CHARLES PHILLIP CAPET, his self-styled Ministers or Counsellors, their abettors and adherents, the Generals, the Chiefs of Regiments and Officers, are responsible for every effusion of blood resulting from the resistance of the Government *de facto* to the national will.

"LOUIS PHILLIP of Orleans, Duke of Orleans, is called upon to fulfil, under the present circumstances, the duties which are imposed upon him, and to concur with his fellow citizens in the re-establishment of a Constitutional Government; and, on his refusal to do so, he must, with his family, quit the French territory until the perfect consolidation of the new Government has been effected.

"Voted in Session at Paris, 27th day of July, 1830.

(Signed) "T. S. Provisional President.

"G. de M. } Provisional

"J. du D. } Secretaries."

By whom this paper was drawn up, or issued, does not appear. Although names were not attached to it, yet such a manifesto, if circulated in Paris, at such a perilous moment, was calculated to strengthen the desire of the irritated people for the dethronement of Charles X., whose person and family and favorites afforded the active elements of vexatious and tyrannical misrule.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 28.

The Press did its work yesterday—it thoroughly aroused the people, and this was an eventful day.

It is proper, however, to notice thus early that the ordinance against the press was the subject of legal investigation this morning.

A case was submitted to the Tribunal of Commerce on a question between Messrs. De Lapelouze and Chatelain, Editors of the *Courrier Français*, and M. Gaultier Laguionie, printer of that Journal, who, in pursuance of a notice of the Prefect of Police, issued in conformity with the Royal Ordinance of the 25th instant, had refused to print that Journal until a license was obtained. After hearing the respective parties and their counsel, the Court pronounced the following judgment:—"Considering that, by an agreement between the parties, Gaultier Laguionie had bound himself to print for the Editors the Journal entitled the *Courrier Français*, and that all agreements legally entered into ought to be carried into effect, it is in vain for M. Gaultier Laguionie to withdraw from the obligation he had taken upon himself, on the ground of a notice from the Prefect of Police, enjoining him to execute the ordinance of the 25th, which ordinance, being contrary to the Charter, could not be obligatory either upon the sacred and inviolable person of the King or upon the citizens whose rights it attacks; considering, further, that, according to the forms of the Charter, ordinances can only be issued for the purpose of executing and maintaining the laws, and that the above ordinance, on the contrary, would have the effect of violating the provisions of the law of the 28th of July, 1828; the Tribunal ordains and decrees that the agreement between the parties shall be carried into effect, and consequently condemns, *par corps*, Gaultier Laguionie to print the *Courrier Français* within twenty-four hours, and, in case of failure in doing so, reserves the right of the Editors to sue for damages; orders the decree to be carried into temporary execution upon the minutes, and notwithstanding any appeal; and also condemns the defendant in all costs of the suit."

The *Moniteur* of this morning did not contain any thing relative to the late measures or to the state of Paris, except that the King, by an ordinance of the 25th instant, had given to the Marshal Duke of Ragusa the command of all the troops forming the first military division.

Galignani's *Messenger* appeared, and merely announced that tumultuous assemblages had taken place, but that the government would put them down by force.

This morning the shops of Paris were closely shut, and the windows fastened and barred, as if the inhabitants of the city were in mourning for the slain, or in apprehension of approaching calamity.

The *tocsin* sounded, and the people flocked in from the *fauxbourgs* and different quarters of the city.

That exterminable enemy to oppression,

the Press, had been at work during the night. Handbills were profusely distributed, containing vehement philippics against the King and his Ministers, and summoning every man to arm for his country, and to aid in ejecting the Bourbons. Placards were constantly posted up and eagerly read.

During the preceding night an organization of the people had been arranged.

All the arms that could be found at the theatres, and remaining in the shops of armourers that had not been visited the evening before, were seized and distributed. Every other kind of property was respected.

Small parties of the military were stopped and disarmed by the multitude, and the soldiers confined.

Numbers of the National Guards in uniform, and with arms, paced the streets and were allowed to pass by the *gens-d'armes*:—not a word was spoken; they merely exchanged looks.

No vehicles were in the streets; they were interdicted, and their passage rendered impracticable.

Strong detachments guarded the different hotels of the ministers.

Loud cries and shouts were constantly heard of "Down with the Jesuits!"—"Down with the Bourbons!"—"Death to the Ministers."

Each man strove to provide himself with a musket, a pistol, a sword, a pole with a knife or some cutting instrument to form a weapon of offence. The greater part had bludgeons; a few had rifles.

Troops continually arrived from St. Denis, St. Cloud, and other military stations.

Rude barricades were hastily thrown up in different places to prevent the attacks of cavalry.

Several telegraphs, including that on the church des Petits Pères, were dismantled.

Tri-colored flags were promenaded in the streets, and tri-colored cockades and breast-knots were worn not only by the French, but by the English and foreigners of all nations.

All Paris was in insurrection. Every movement of the people portended a terrible conflict. The government reposed in security upon a crippled, blind, and implacable dignity.

An ambassador wrote to Prince Polignac to ask a guard, in order that the servants of the Embassy might go out without danger. "I have no time to write to the Ambassador," said the prince to the bearer of the letter; "but you may assure him that all this is nothing! in two hours every thing will be quiet!"

Groups of the people armed with sticks, bayonets, pikes, and muskets, removed or effaced all the insignia and emblems of royalty.



THE RED FLAG HOISTED ON PORTE ST. DENIS.

The arms and other signs of the government of Charles X. that were moveable were burnt in the *Place Publique*.

A red flag was hoisted on the gate of St. Denis, amidst the shouts of the people.

The following document was in the course of signature by the representatives.

PROTEST OF THE DEPUTIES.

"THE UNDERSIGNED, regularly elected Deputies by the Colleges of Arrondissements, by virtue of the Royal Ordinance of the —, and conformably to the Constitutional Charter, and to the laws relative to elections of the —, and who are now at Paris,

"Consider themselves as absolutely obliged by their duties and their honor to protest against the measures which the advisers of the Crown have lately caused to be proclaimed for the overthrow of the legal system of elections, and the ruin of the liberty of the press.

"The same measures contained in the ordinances of the — are, in the opinion of the undersigned, directly contrary to the constitutional rights of the Chamber of Peers, to the public rights of the French, to

the attributes and to the decrees of the tribunals, and calculated to throw the State into a confusion which equally endangers the peace of the present moment and the security of the future.

"In consequence, the undersigned, inviolably faithful to their oath, protest in concert not only against the said measures, but against all the acts which may result from them.

"And considering, on the one hand, that the Chamber of Deputies, not having been constituted, could not be legally dissolved, on the other, that the attempt to form a new Chamber of Deputies in a novel and arbitrary manner is directly opposed to the Constitutional Charter and to the acquired rights of the electors, the undersigned declare that they still consider themselves as legally elected the deputation by the Colleges of the arrondissements and departments whose suffrages they have obtained, and as incapable of being replaced except by virtue of elections made according to the principles and forms prescribed by the laws. And, if the undersigned do not effectively exercise the rights

nor perform all the duties which they derive from their legal election, it is because they are hindered by absolute violence."

Among those who signed this protest were,

MM.	MM.
L' ABBEY de POMPIÈRE	MONTGUYON (Comte d')
SEBASTIANI	LEVAILLANT
MECHIN	TRONCHON
PERIER (Casimir)	GERARD (le général)
GUIZOT	LAFITTE (Jacques)
AUDRY de PUYRAVEAU	GARCIAS
ANDRÉ GOLLOT	DUGAS MONTBEL
GAETAN de la ROCHEFOUCAULD	CAMILLE PERIER
MAUGUIN	VASSAL
BERNARD	ALEXANDRE DELABORDE
VOISIN de GARTEMPE	JACQUES L'EFEBVRE
FROIDEFOND de BELLISLE	MATHIEU DUMAS
VILLEMALIN	EUSEBE SALVERTE
DIDOT (Firmen)	DE POULMER
DAUNOU	HERNOUX
PERSIL	CHARDEL
VILLEMOT	BAVOUX
De la RIBOISSIÈRE	CHARLES DUPIN
BONDY (Comte de)	HELY d'HOYSEL
DURIS-DEFRESNE	EUGENE d'HARCOURT
GIROD de l' AIN	BAILLOT
LAISNE de la VILLEVEQUE	GENERAL LAFAYETTE
DELESSERT (Benjamin)	GEORGES LAFAYETTE
MARCHAL	JOUVENCEL
NAU de CHAMPOLOUIS	BERTIN de VAUX
COMTE de LOBAU	COMTE de LAMETH
BARON LOUIS	BERARD
MILLAUX	DUCHAFAUT
ESTOURMEL (Comte d')	AUGUSTE de SAINT-AIGNAN
	KERATRY
	TERNAUX
	JACQUES ODIER
	BENJAMIN CONSTANT
	&c. &c. &c.

A Deputation was formed of the following eminent Deputies:—Messrs. General Gerard, Count de Lobau, Lafitte, Cassimir Perrier, and Manguin. Amidst the fire of musketry they went to the Marshal Duke of Ragusa. M. Lafitte represented to the Marshal the deplorable state of the capital, blood flowing in all directions, the musketry firing as in a town taken by storm. He made him personally responsible, in the name of the assembled Deputies of France, for the fatal consequences of so melancholy an event.

The Marshal replied—"The honor of a soldier is obedience." "And civil honor," replied M. Lafitte, "is not to massacre the citizens." The Marshal said, "But gentlemen, what are the conditions you propose?"

"Without judging too highly of our influence, we think that we can be answerable that every thing will return to order on the following conditions:—The revocation of the illegal Ordinances of the 25th of July, the dismissal of the Ministers, and the convocation of the Chambers on the 3rd of August."

The Marshal replied that, as a citizen, he might perhaps not disapprove, nay even might participate in the opinions of the Deputies, but that as a soldier he had his orders, and he had only to carry them into execution—that, however, he engaged to submit these proposals to the King in half an hour.

"But, said the Marshal, if you wish, Gentlemen, to have a conference on the subject with M. de Polignac, he is close at hand, and I will go and ask him if he can receive you."

A quarter of an hour passed, the Marshal returned with his countenance much changed, and told the Deputies that M. de Polignac had declared to him that the conditions proposed rendered any conference useless.

"We have then civil war," said M. Lafitte. The Marshal bowed, and the Deputies retired.

It had been known among the people that the Deputies were to have a communication with the Duke of Ragusa; and during the conference and for some short time after, though the public feeling was intense, the assembled multitude was perfectly still, and mixed freely with the troops. As soon, however, as Polignac's answer was made known, "that Ministers would enter into no compromise or concession," war, and war to the knife, commenced; and never were witnessed more heroic acts of personal bravery, and more generous disregard of selfish feelings, than were displayed by the citizens of Paris on this memorable day and night.

The people were induced to maintain their right to the inestimable blessings of a free press, and good government, by the only argument to which despotism yields. The drums of the National Guard beat "to arms!" The populace answered the call amid the incessant ringing of the tocsin, and the struggle began in earnest.—About two o'clock a cannon, on the bridge near the Marché aux Fleurs, raked with grape-shot the quay, and the troops were resolutely attacked by the people, and several of the guards led off killed or wounded. Many unlucky citizens, who ventured into places exposed to the fire, suffered for their temerity. A studious-looking person, quietly walking the quay with folded arms, was struck dead by a shot from the other side of the river. At the corner of an adjoining street lay an old man with his back to the wall, apparently sleeping composedly in the midst of the loudest discharges of mus-

ketry; a wound was gaping in his breast, and the blood bubbled up—he was dead.

There was a tremendous fight in La Halle, the great market-place of the Rue St. Denis. The Royal Guard were early in possession of it. All the outlets were speedily closed by barricades, from behind which, from the corners of the various streets, and from the windows of the houses, the people blazed on the guards, and there was a terrible slaughter on both sides. The hottest engagement seems to have been in the Rue St. Honoré, opposite the Palais Royal, where the military were in great force, and the people resisted their assailants with desperate determination.

At the Place de Grève they fiercely contended with the mercenaries of the palace, the Swiss Guards, and compelled them to fly with great loss.

But the most obstinate contention was for the possession of the Hotel de Ville, the Guildhall of Paris. It was lost and won repeatedly in the course of the day.

Furious engagements took place at the Ports St. Denis and St. Martin, in the Rue St. Martin, on the quays, in the Boulevards, and at the Place Vendôme.

In the Rue Montmartre an attack was made by the Duke de Ragusa in person. During part of the day the Place des Victoires was occupied by some troops, among whom was a part of the 5th regiment of the line, who had long gone over to the National Guards established at the Petits Peres. About two o'clock the Duke de Ragusa arrived at the Place at the head of fresh troops. He drew them up opposite the Rues du Mail, des Fossés Montmartre, Croix des Petits Champs, and Neuve des Petits Champs. He immediately commanded a charge, and on both sides several men were killed or wounded. The Marshal directed his troops down the Rue du Mail, and they scoured the Rue Montmartre without much difficulty till they reached the Rue Joquelet, where the people were prepared. Each house was armed and guarded. The black flag was displayed on the Porte St. Denis and other edifices.

For extended particulars recourse must be had to the accounts furnished by the letters of persons who were eye-witnesses of the conflicts.

One of these letter writers says, "I was in town early in the morning, and found not only the people armed in considerable numbers, but the National Guard was forming in all quarters. In breaking up this body, the government had forgotten to take their arms. The Hotel de Ville was forced and occupied by a party early this day, and the most tremendous conflict took place between the besieged and

a regiment of Swiss and the Royal Guard, who occupied the Place de Grève and the Quais. Thousands of people poured in their fire on the exposed troops. They had armed themselves from the arsenal, which had been taken early in the morning, and from different guard-rooms of the *gens-d'armes* and troops, which had been pillaged and burnt in the course of the night. The Hotel de Ville is riddled with balls, but was never retaken;—I saw a great part of this fight from the opposite side of the river, where I was, au Marché aux Fleurs; close to me was a detachment of the 5th of the line, who refused to fire. As the artillery was coming up on my side of the river, to endeavour with their cannon to clear the Place de Grève, I crossed over by the Pont St. Michael, creeping down along the balustrades of the bridge, and luckily got over without mischief. The balls whistled over me like hailstones. From thence I was obliged to get into the narrow streets, where I was repeatedly put into requisition to help to build up barricades with the paving stones, and was sometimes in great danger; one poor devil fell upon me, killed by a ball in the forehead. In walking quietly along in front of the grand façade of the Louvre, where there was no fighting, suddenly one of the National Guard fell close to me from a shot from the windows of the Louvre."

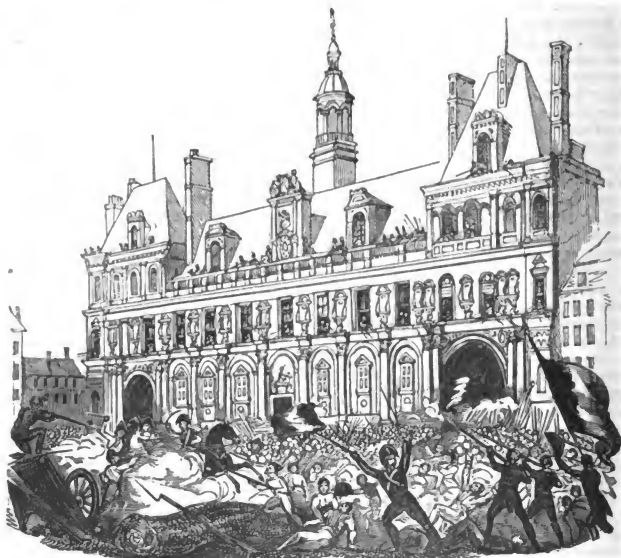
The annexed statement is from a second letter writer:—"At an early hour I proceeded to town by the Avenue de Neuilly, and the Champs Élysées, to the neighbourhood of the Tuilleries. Every shop was shut, all business was at a stand, and from distance to distance along the streets numerous groups were to be seen in earnest conversation, receiving and communicating rumors which were every where afloat. On reaching the Boulevard I saw, for the first time, a single individual step out from his house, accoutred with the arms, and dressed in the full uniform, of the suppressed National Guard. I could not avoid regarding his appearance, in this isolated situation, as an act of boldness and heroism 'above all Greek—above all Roman fame.' The value of the example was instantly appreciated by the groups of the yet unarmed citizens, who now studded the streets and Boulevards. At every turn he was greeted with the cheering shouts of—'*Vive la brave Garde! Vive la Garde Nationale!*' It was not long until he was joined by others, who, though less perfectly equipped, were not less zealously devoting themselves to the cause of liberty, and to the preservation of the public peace. I had occasion also to go to the post-office; but, on walking up the Rue de Marche St.

Honoré, I observed at the upper end of the market-place, through the intervals of the small groups of people who were standing in the street, the glancing of arms, and in an instant afterwards I perceived that the street was stopped up by a party of the Royal Guard, who had formed themselves across it. By this time I was within less than thirty yards of the front of the platoon. A number of individuals, perhaps not more than twenty, were still between me and the soldiery, so unconscious was I of immediate danger that I heard the word '*feu*' given. I saw the line of pieces levelled, but even then, although there was no time for flight, the idea of danger did not occur to me, from the perfectly quiet and inoffensive appearance of the people in the market-place exposed to the fire. My first impression on hearing the volley, which was given with the utmost precision, and on finding myself untouched, was, that the arms of the men had not been shot, and that the only object of the military was to produce intimidation. In another instant, however, I was sadly disabused of this too charitable supposition. Two men fell close by me, the one gasping in agony, the other quite dead; and, on looking around me, it was matter of great surprise that these two were the only victims of this cool-blooded and atrocious piece of violence. With the others who escaped I retired into the adjoining booths in the market-place. The man who was killed proved to be a gardener frequenting the market: the other was a stranger; but, as he had staggered a step or two towards the side of the street opposite to that to which I had retired, I heard no more of him. I must say, however, that if it was the object of those who directed the massacre to break down the spirit of the people, and to reduce them to a state of abject submission to arbitrary power, the purpose, in every instance which I had an opportunity of observing, was signally defeated by the very measures to which they have themselves had recourse. The union and strength of the popular cause, and the known weakness of the government, every where excited a spirit which could not have been overcome even by the temporary triumph of the troops, and which, now that it has been attended with a greater and a more prompt success than could have been anticipated, will not, I trust, be abused by any of those violent reactions which too often follow a successful popular insurrection. Insurrection, however, is a word which, in the ordinary sense of the term, can scarcely be applied to a case, like the present, of resistance to actual oppression, and of vengeance on the instruments employed in the slaughter of unoffending citizens. Having failed in

my object of proceeding to the post-office, I directed my steps towards the prefecture of police, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure passports; but on the way I ascertained that that quarter of the town was already the scene of a violent struggle, and that the Hotel de Ville, which is not far distant, was the leading object of attack on the part of the armed populace and the National Guard, which had already mustered in considerable numbers. On passing through the Place Louis XVI., on my way to the Barriere, I found it encumbered with troops of all arms. A regiment of the Guard had just arrived from Versailles: a strong park of artillery had taken up its position along the garden front of the Tuilleries; and the other parts of the place, which during the last revolution was distinguished by so many atrocities, was filled with several regiments of cavalry, the men having been allowed to dismount, but every one standing by his horse's head, prepared on the first word of command to be again in his saddle. In place of seeking for bye-paths as I had formerly done, I now thought it safest to tread my way through the middle of the troops, and without any serious impediment reached Neuilly."

A letter from another eye-witness is still more descriptive. He says,—

"I hastened at an early hour to the General Post-Office, Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau, and I found the building comparatively deserted: the clerks had not arrived—no one was there to conduct the business of the establishment: all was terror and alarm. I had not remained there long before a party of the young students of the Ecole Polytechnique arrived, armed, and in military order. Some mounted guard, others took possession of the Bureaus—all resolved on maintaining order and on preventing pillage. When order was established, I proceeded to the Place Louis XVI., traversing the Rue St. Honoré, Louvre, and Place du Caroussel. At the Palais Royal the people were maintaining a brisk fire against the Royal Guards and Lancers. In the Place du Caroussel the troops were assembled and assembling, and it was every where stated that the ministers were assembled at the Tuilleries. The gardens of the Tuilleries were closed. A few infantry mounted guard. Along the quay all was comparative tranquillity. In the Place Louis XVI. a party of artillery were stationed, and some troops of the line: there were six pieces of cannon. I proceeded towards the hotel of the British ambassador—all shops were closed—each man was arming himself; a general slaughter seemed inevitable if the troops remained. Early in the morning,



ATTACK OF THE HOTEL DE VILLE BY THE PEOPLE.

however, the 5th regiment of the line went over to the people, and afterwards fought side by side with them. I then proceeded to the Boulevard de la Madeleine. The people were assembling, and with large clubs were destroying all the lanterns or reverberes. This they did in order that when night came on they might profit by the darkness to fire upon the troops. On the Boulevard I was run down by a party of gens-d'armes and compelled to take to flight. Immediately afterwards news arrived that General Gerard was leading the people and two regiments of the line which had gone over to the popular cause, and were proceeding to the Place Vendome. The news was true. I joined the mob near the Rue Richelieu, and proceeded down the Rue de la Paix to the Place Vendome. The Place Vendome was in the occupation of the King's troops, who fired upon us. Women and children, however, remained by our side. No one gave way. All exclaimed, 'Brave General Gerard, we will never forsake you!' The mass rushed on to the Place Vendome—routed the troops

—took possession of the ammunition—and hoisted the tri-colored cockade and flag. The people then rushed along the Rue St. Honoré, to attack, by a back street, the hotel of Prince Polignac; but six pieces of loaded cannon stared them in the face, and for a moment the people retired. The noise of the roaring of cannon in the direction of the Porte St. Martin then attracted attention, and all rushed to that spot. Artillery, cavalry, and infantry were there assembled; but all were ineffectual. I proceeded to the Rue St. Martin. Every man was armed. Women were occupied with their children in unpaving the streets, and carrying the great stones into the houses in order to shower down upon and crush the military. Enthusiasm was at its highest pitch. The military were routed and dispersed in that direction—as also in the direction of the Rue St. Denis, and the people became masters of two pieces of cannon. I saw upwards of fifty citizens shot within twenty yards of where I stood near the Porte St. Martin, and more than 100 soldiers. The Royal Guards were here de-

feated, and the Swiss cut to pieces. When the popular party were victorious in this quarter, we all rushed to the Hotel de Ville. The brave and animated youth of the Polytechnic School were there. The Swiss were in possession of the hotel, and hundreds of the citizens were slain every half hour. The contest lasted two hours. The people at last entered the hotel, fought manfully, foot to foot and hand to hand, against the Swiss troops, in the interior of the building, and for a time were masters. But a regiment of the line arrived; Lancers, Royal Guards, Artillery, and gen-d'armes, also presented themselves, and in their turn the people were defeated, and at nightfall the Hotel de Ville was in possession of the King's troops. At least 700 persons lost their lives on Wednesday in this affair of the Hotel de Ville. Troops now continued to pour in on all sides, and Paris was in a state of siege. A provisional government was now announced. General Lafayette and General Gerard put themselves at the head of the National Guards. In less than three hours the National Guard mustered 30,000, and had six pieces of artillery in their possession."

M Collard, one of the combatants on this day, residing on the Rue Mortellerie at the corner of the Place de Grève, relates that—"about one o'clock in the afternoon a party of the Royal Guards and of Swiss, to the number of nearly 800 men, debouching by the Quay, appeared on the Place de Grève. A brisk fire commenced, but the National Guards, not being in sufficient strength, were obliged to give ground, and to suffer the Royal Guards to take possession of their post. The Royal Guards had scarcely made themselves masters of the Hotel de Ville, when they were assailed on all sides with a shower of bullets from the windows of the houses on the Place de Grève and in the streets abutting on the quay. The Royal Guards resisted vigorously, and killed many more in number than were killed of themselves. But still they were dislodged, and directed a murderous retreat along the quay, their firing by files and by platoons succeeding each other with astonishing rapidity. They were soon joined by fresh troops of the Royal Guard and of Swiss, including 100 cuirassiers of the Guard, and four pieces of artillery, each of them escorted by a dozen artillerymen on horseback. With this terrible reinforcement they again advanced on the Hotel de Ville, and a frightful firing began on all sides. The artillery debouching from the Quay, and charged with cannister shot, swept the Place de Grève in a terrific manner. Mountains of dead bodies covered that immense place. They succeeded in driving the citizens into

the Rues de Matroît and du Mouton, and entered for the second time that day into their position at the Hotel de Ville. But their possession of it did not continue long; for they were soon again attacked with a perseverance and courage truly sublime and almost irresistible. Their artillery, ranged before the Prefecture of the Seine and the Hotel de Ville, threatened death to thousands. The repeated charges of the cuirassiers were violent, but the citizens did not give way. Immoveable in their position, they expected and received death, with cries of '*Vive la Liberte!—Vive la Charte!*' Their heroic and generous efforts proved fatal to many. The heaps of dead bodies showed the diminution in the numbers of the people. They would, perhaps, have been defeated, had it not been for one of those little accidents which sometimes occur in such circumstances, and which decided the victory in their favor. A young man, bearing in his hand a tri-colored flag, advanced under a shower of bullets upon the suspended bridge which joins the Grève to the quay of the city, and, mounting to the façade of the pillar on the side of the Grève, he there planted the national colors. The sight of the flag of liberty reanimated the courage of the brave French. They returned to the charge with new ardor. But unfortunately, at the first fire of the Guards, the brave young man was struck by one of their bullets. He rolled down to the foot of the ladder which he had so bravely mounted, and his lifeless body fell into the Seine. It was then that in their rage and courage, forgetting every thing but the disaster of their brave brother, the besiegers rushed on the assassins, got possession of their artillery, and discharged it against them. From that time the victory was not doubtful. The cause of liberty had triumphed, but it cost the country much noble blood—1200 having been either killed or wounded, of those who had generously taken arms for the defence of their liberties and of their country. 'Grand and noble victory!' thy country hath paid dearly for thee. Let us hope that the liberty which thou hast acquired for us will not again be taken from us. Let us hope that no sacrilegious tyrant will again lay his impious hands upon our institutions. The soldiers of the *ci-devant* King lost on that murderous day about 600 men, four pieces of artillery, and 40 horses. The house, No. 1, of the Place de l'Hotel de Ville, at the corner of the Quai Pelletier, and of the Place de Grève, has been riddled with bullets. All the glass has been broken; the corner and front of the house have been beaten down and destroyed by the artillery of the Prefecture. The house, No. 3, Rue de Mouton, has been thrown down

under the Port Cochere by the cannon balls. The houses in the vicinity have also been riddled with bullets."

When the Deputies were informed that Polignac refused to listen to their proposition, his determination was communicated to the inhabitants: at the same time they received notice that reinforcements of troops were arriving, that hostilities would be commenced by the military forthwith, and that, therefore, it was indispensable to fortify the houses as quickly and as well as possible. This intimation of the unrelenting disposition of the heartless Government confirmed the people in their resolution to win freedom or die in the struggle. Instruments that could become weapons of offence were converted to that purpose. Brickbats and stones were carried into the upper rooms and piled in heaps for hurling on the soldiery, and the flower-pots were devoted to the same end. Paving was ripped up and broken with hammers by old men that could not turn out, and by the women and children. The gates and doors were kept open to afford places of momentary retreat to the people from the charges of the military. Bullets were openly cast in the shops by the daughters of respectable tradesmen, while their fathers were fighting in the streets. These shops were ammunition stores; bullets were given to all that came, hot from the moulds, and the girls went on casting, while their wounded friends were brought in and laid on mattresses, previously prepared and spread out for the disabled that might need succor.

A little after eleven o'clock, Rothschild's establishment was suddenly closed in consequence of the approach of a body of the people, armed and preceded by drums and fifes, marching towards the hotel. They assaulted the gates, the porter opened them, spoke mildly to the assailants, and they marched away in good humor.

About twelve a body of at least 5000 cavalry were at the Palace of Deputies; there was a detachment from these of a body of *gens-d'armes* in pursuit of a crowd of men with bludgeons; they charged them with the flat of the sword, and took away their sticks.

At two o'clock volleys of musketry and a tremendous roar of cannon announced that hostilities were raging against the armed citizens.

The sittings of the courts of Justice were broken up. The Bourse was shut, and destined for a prison for the disarmed and captured military.

The pupils of the Polytechnic school came among the people and directed their evolutions.

Many of the Swiss Guards were exposed to massacre; for they were thrown upon the mercy of the people. By singular mismanagement they arrived in small detachments of about twenty, which were rushed upon and surrounded by crowds of 200 or 300 who demanded their muskets; they threw them into the hands of their victors, who in no instance maltreated an individual of this obnoxious force: but on the contrary, as it was necessary to secure them, the people put a long loaf under the arm of each prisoner, and marched them all off to the Bourse, which was turned into a place of confinement, and kept by the National Guard.

The people were sometimes destitute of ammunition. Only certain shops were licensed to sell gunpowder, and each was restricted to a very small stock. The little in these places was quickly secured, but it was trifling compared with what was consumed and wanted. Some was brought from the Polytechnic School by the pupils, and some had been found in the guard-houses destroyed the night before.

The National Guard gradually formed themselves into companies, and bravely withstood the musketry and bayonet of the troops of the palace, and at every opportunity harangued the soldiers, exhorting them to remember that they were making war on their countrymen. Every individual of the National Guard that turned out was a volunteer of the first class in the deadly strife for liberty. Their services could not be commanded and were scarcely expected. Half of the people whom they aided were not armed; they saw men giving their bodies and limbs to increase the awful struggle for liberty, and, as they had themselves contended for it, they now, although disbanded, once more took up arms for the good old cause.

When the bridges were raked by the cannon, the people retreated to the colonnades, waited till the military came over, and enfiladed and fired upon them from behind the pillars and recesses.

On a place or street being left clear by the absence of the military, the people instantly drilled and taught the inexperienced how to fall in, keep in line, wheel to the left and right, and march.

The Rue St. Honoré, the Rue Richelieu, and the principal scenes of action, were strewn with broken glass. Immense quantities of bottles had been thrown from the windows at the military, and served the double purpose of missiles, at the moment, against the soldiers, and annoyances to the horses of the cavalry.

So early as ten in the morning shots were

beginning to be frequent; a symptom of open war on the part of the people showed itself in a bonfire at the end of the Rue St. Denis, made of the window-shutters of the printer of a journal of the Court. The National Guard in an old uniform of blue with red facings, belts once white, but now tawny, and rusty firelocks, were cheered heartily, with the cry "*Vive la Garde Nationale!*" One or two, by their awkward manner of carrying their muskets, or by losing their caps, too big for the heads they surmounted, excited also the mirth of the people. They were repairing towards the Hotel de Ville, which, during the day, was taken and retaken more than once, and on each attack was vigorously assailed and as stoutly maintained. The fire of the defenders from the upper parts of the building was sharp and loud on the air; whilst the deeper boom! boom! of the cannon thundered from below. The façade, and the front of the opposite houses, particularly one at the extremity of the Rue la Vannerie, attest, by many a star, the fierceness of the engagements. The Ports St. Martin and St. Denis, the Rue St. Honoré, &c., bear the like honorable testimony to the valor of the people.

The 5th regiment were ordered "to make ready!" to fire on the people on the Boulevard. They obeyed the order, and waited for the word "present!" It was given, and they turned their pieces on their Colonel, waiting with singular coolness for the word "fire!" He is said to have immediately broken his sword upon his knee, torn off his epaulettes, and retired. The people threw themselves into the arms of the soldiers, who received their embrace, but maintained their position. "*Vive la Ligne!*" was afterwards a constant exclamation with the people.

When the cavalry of the Guard charged for the first time, an officer belonging to a squadron cried out to the people, with tears in his eyes, "For the love of God, in the name of Heaven, go to your homes!" When the Gardes du Corps were ordered to fire from their hotel on the quay d'Orsai, they must have levelled their pieces above the heads of the people; for no individual fell or was wounded. In the streets they appeared to feel that they were on a grievous duty. They were no way elated, but seemed filled with gloomy anticipations of the issue. In action they spared many of the people. Most of the station houses of the gendarmes were burnt. The guards within usually submitted to the summons of the people, and withdrew quietly.

Parties of the 15th regiment went at quick march through the streets, and were

every where greeted with acclamations of "*Vive la Ligne!*" As far as the observation of an eye-witness extended, the duties of the line on this day were purely passive. Detachments were posted in different places; and a soldier was occasionally led off, struck by a chance shot. They stood quietly where they were drawn up, gently keeping back the people, whose curiosity was pushing them too far for their safety, and complaining to the citizens who stood near of the hardship of remaining drawn up, under a hot sun, without meat or drink, the live-long day. Their officers looked pensive, and, at every louder report of fire arms, shrugged their shoulders and cast up their eyes.

Detachments of the Royal Guard and of the Swiss posted themselves at corners, where they were out of the reach of the citizens' fire, and, advancing by turns, fired down the street at any living object perceptible. The people, in like manner, took their opportunities from windows, doorways, and projections. It was certainly a blunder to bring the cavalry into narrow streets. The armed populace lined the windows of every house, and carried destruction into the ranks of the Cuirassiers and Lancers.

The Lancers of the Guard were true pretorian troops. Their ferocity was unsparing, and they were marked out by the people as objects of especial attack. The loss of the Cuirassiers and Lancers was consequently very great. They were assailed with every hurtful missile that could be procured. Several of the cuirassiers were dreadfully burnt by aquafortis, thrown on them from the windows by the infuriated relatives of citizens whom they were charging in the streets.

It was reported that the Garde Royale and the Swiss had received a gratuity from the court of ten francs each in the morning. On the bodies of these soldiers, when slain, was found more money than privates could command in ordinary times.

BRAVERY and mercy were characteristic of the noble people throughout the day. The firm stand was made, and the gallant fight was fought, by the artisans, the workmen, the "unwashed artificers,"—men derided by gentry whose

noble blood,
Had crept through scoundrels ever since the flood.

There were women, too, that hazarded their lives; and, besides the brave youth of the Polytechnic school, boys joined in the struggle, and fought with their fathers. Mothers, of lion hearts, equipped, and sent forth their sons to battle. A courageous stripling, distinguished by remarkable deeds, proved,

when the fight was over, to be a female. Prodigies of valor were performed by a woman armed with a brace of pistols.

A boy of ten, with folded arms, and pistol, quietly waited for an officer of the ferocious Lancers of the guard; and, at the moment he came up, shot him dead upon the spot. Another lad, on the approach of some *gens-d'armes*, dived under the horse of the foremost, and as he came up turned round, took aim at his man, and brought him to the earth. A third boy, a mere child in appearance, crept under the horses of a troop of cavalry, till he found room to get up between two; he then rose with a pistol in each hand, stretched out his arms, shot the man on each side, and escaped undetected. At the suspension bridge, at the Place de Grève, a brave youth said to the armed citizens, "We must cross this bridge—I will set the example. If I die, remember my name is Arcole." Saying these words, he started. He had scarcely reached the middle of the bridge when he fell, pierced by countless musket-balls. The witnesses of his heroism, retained his name, and the bridge, which was the theatre of his sublime devotedness, is now called the "Bridge of Arcole."

An American captain, who lodged at a hotel in the Rue Richelieu, saw, from his window, what, he says, if it had been related to him, he could not have credited. A body of the Swiss Guards were drawn up in close column. One of the people coolly stationed himself at the corner of a barricade, loaded and discharged his rifle eighteen times, at each fire killed his man, and then retreated, apparently for want of ammunition.

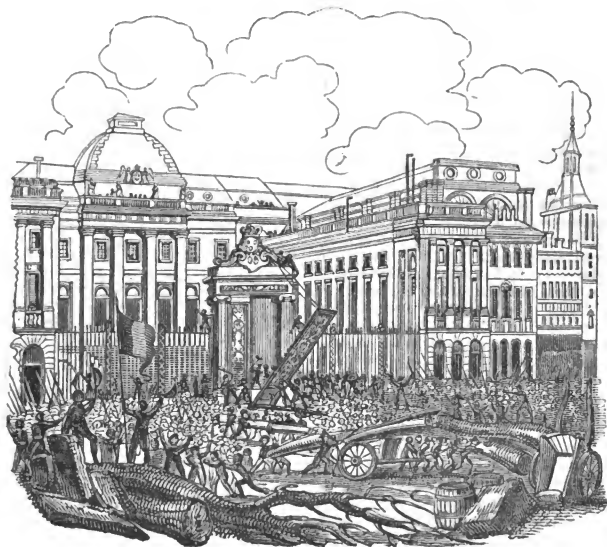
M. Staffel, a native of Alsace, a boot-maker, residing in Passage du Seumon, who was arrested for having taken too active a part in the troubles which accompanied the expulsion of M. Manuel, fought with great courage. He, with others, contributed to disarm ten men of the Royal Guard, whom he afterwards saved from being massacred.

Among the citizens who were sheltered behind the streets St. Germaine l'Auxerrois, de la Sonnerie, and de Veau qui Tete, a young man of the faubourgs, armed with a good musket, but never having handled one before in his life, was very much embarrassed how to use it. A brave soldier of the old army, M. Gorgot, ancient Director of Military hospitals, residing at No. 17 Rue de Ponceau, entreated the young man to lend him his piece for a few moments, and retired behind the corner of the Café Secretaire. Suddenly a column of Swiss debouched upon the Place de Chatelet, on which our brave soldier presented, fired, and a Swiss

fell. The whole column fired on him. He retreated behind the house, re-loaded his piece, came out again, and fired a second shot, with the same success, in spite of the shower of balls with which he was assailed. Several armed citizens, to about the number of sixty, followed his example. The Swiss column was terrified, wheeled round, and retired in disorder, leaving the place covered with their slain.

When the fire of a piece of cannon was causing great carnage among the crowd in the Rue Planche-Mibray, one of the brave people cried out, "Who will come with me and take that piece?—I will only have men who are unarmed." Followed by eight or ten men, he rushed forward, and a bullet reached him just as he was about to obtain his object. His comrades dispersed, but the wounded man got up, and was conducted to a neighbouring temporary hospital, which had been established at the house of the Commissary of Police. M. D'Estree, a skilful surgeon, who passed three days in alternately fighting and attending to the wounded, extracted the ball, and, through his care, the courageous fellow was enabled to go out again. "Cowards," cried he, "you have abandoned me just at the time when the cannon would have been ours. Follow me, and repair your disgrace." He went forth again, exposed himself to the fire of the piece, and in about five minutes it was in his possession. It was then seven o'clock. Twelve hours afterwards this undaunted patriot expired at a few paces from the scene of his courageous exploit. He belonged to the class of "the people."

As soon as the terrible conflicts had subsided, and the military had withdrawn, the people were in security, and made instant preparations for the next day by strengthening the barricades and increasing their number. They were assisted by women and even children. The remainder of the afternoon and evening, and the whole of the night, was spent in raising these important obstructions to the evolutions of cavalry. Excellent materials were at hand in the paving stones, which in Paris are squared to about the thickness of a foot cube. They were dug up and piled across the streets in walls breast high, and four or five feet thick. These walls were about fifty paces distant from each other. Hundreds of the finest trees were cut down for blockades. Nothing could be more effective for the defence of a large open town like Paris, traversed in every direction by long narrow streets, overlooked by houses of six, seven, and eight stories, than such barriers scientifically con-



TAKING DOWN THE GATES OF THE PALACE OF JUSTICE.

structed. All the means that industry and ingenuity could devise, in so short a time, were carried into execution, for the energetic stand and assault determined to be made against the military in the morning. During the evening the boulevards, usually so gay, presented a curious scene of desolation. Numbers of fine trees were thrown across the road, and formed green barricades, at short intervals. Fiacles and diligences contributed to fill up the gaps. The *Messageries Royales*, and those of Lafitte, Gaillard, and Co., were never before so honorably employed. In their eagerness for materials to construct barricades, the people assailed the gates of the Palace of Justice, and lowered and carried them off, for barriers to obstruct the cavalry. Not a single lamp gave its light in support of the fading day—a lamp, indeed, was nowhere extant in Paris, all had been demolished the preceding night—and the cafés, in happy times brilliant with reflected lustres, were closely bolted and barred. No man wanted

news, where each was a minister and creator of news.

During the day, in the intervals between the conflicts, the inhabitants, not engaged in them, stood at their doors with folded arms and pale faces, listening to the repeated bursts of fire-arms and explosions of artillery, that seemed to threaten the destruction of the city. Occasionally an honest man, with a musket on his shoulder, was heard indignantly exclaiming, “three days ago, and all was peace; we had trade, commerce, security; the elections over, the Chambers on the point of meeting, every where obedience to government: and now—” the loud roar of a cannon filled up the pause, and answered more emphatically than words.

Many of the people lost their lives by impetuously rushing in multitudes to attack the

D)

military. Those that were behind furiously pushed on, *pell mell*, and those in front that fell either wounded, or from stumbling, could never rise again. This was the case especially in a terrible engagement near the church *Madelaine*. When it was over, there was a mound of 150 bodies of the people, many of whom fell, probably, from losing their foothold, and were trampled to death. They had been fought over, and formed a rampart which their comrades unconsciously mounted in their eager assaults against the common enemy. It was the finest weather of July, the heat of the sun was great, and the combatants had fallen at the height of physical excitement. In two hours from the end of the engagement the bodies in this barrier exhibited signs of rapid decomposition, and became, within that short space, of a grass-green color. During the night all signs of this carnage had disappeared. The bodies had been carried off and buried, and the place washed down; in the morning a stranger could not have imagined that twelve hours before it had been a stage of sanguinary slaughter.

Lady Stuart de Rothesay left Paris. This thoroughly alarmed the English, and they were eager to follow her, but the bureaux were closed, and no passports were issued. As

many as could took their departure without passports, having been first stopped and made to cry "*Vive la Charte!*" by the people, who tore off the *fleurs de lis* from the dresses of the postillions.

It was the policy of the government—the mis-rule of Charles X. could be called government—to prevent intelligence of the insurrection in the metropolis from being known in the provinces, and orders were issued that the mails should not be allowed to pass the barriers. A regiment that went over to the people took charge of the London mail, and effected its departure.

On the termination of the conflicts to-day, there was scarcely a street in the centre of Paris in which the gutters were not running with blood.

In the palace of St. Cloud, whence they could see the flames arise, and hear the roar of the cannon, the volleys of the musketry, and almost the cries of the wounded and the groans of the dying, Charles X. and his attendant minions regulated the scenes of the bloody drama acting by their order.

At midnight the *tocsin* swung alarm from every steeple in Paris, and the cry "to arms!" was universal.

THURSDAY, JULY 29.

During the night the military were inactive, and this interval was employed in constructing barricades and making preparations for an awful strife.

At three o'clock this morning M. Mangin, the prefect of police, quitted Paris, almost out of his senses.

At day-break the *tocsin* sounded "To arms!" and the people began to assemble rapidly and in great crowds. The military, whose guard-houses had been destroyed, were chiefly quartered at the Louvre and the Tuilleries. The Swiss and the Royal Guards were chiefly posted in the houses of the Rue St. Honoré and the adjacent streets.

The brave National Guards assembled on the boulevards, in the Place de Grève, and in other places, with the certainty of death if defeated. At the same time, the students of the Polytechnic School, joined the

citizens nearly to a man; they then separated, proceeding singly to different parts to take the command of the people, and nobly repaid the confidence reposed in them.

In the Rue Richelieu, and all the neighbourhood of the Rue St. Honoré, the parties were *en face*. The 3d regiment of Guards maintained the appearance of determination to fight. The people were accumulating frightfully. Not a word was spoken. The garden of the Tuilleries was closed. In the Place du Caroussel were three squadrons of Lancers of the Garde Royale, a battalion of the 3d regiment of the Garde, and a battery of six pieces, also of the Garde. The Tuilleries and Louvre were occupied by a regiment of Swiss Guards. A few were eating their breakfast; all the rest were on the *qui vive*, ready to mount or fall in.

In an hour an immense force was brought to bear on several points. The Hotel de

Ville was attacked, carried, and became the *point d'appui*. The dépôt of artillery in the Rue du Bac (St. Thomas d'Aquin) was also carried, and the cannon carried off to the most important points, and worked with amazing coolness and effect by those heroic youths.

At M. Lafitte's were assembled the greater part of the deputies then at Paris. They were making arrangements of the greatest importance. General de la Fayette was proclaimed Commandant-General of the National Guard. This venerable and consistent adherent to liberty from his earliest years had received the command the evening before, and he issued the following announcement:—

STAFF OF THE NATIONAL GUARD.

"General Lafayette announces, to the Mayor and members of the different arrondissements, that he has accepted the Command-in-chief of the National Guard, which has been offered to him by the voice of the public, and which has just been unanimously conferred upon him by the Deputies now assembled at the house of M. Lafitte. He invites the Mayor and Municipal Committees of each arrondissement to send an officer to receive the orders of the General, at the Town Hotel, to which he is now proceeding, and to wait for him there.

"By order of General LAFAYETTE,

"Member of the Constitutional Municipal Committee of the City of Paris.

"LAFITTE.

"CASIMIR PERRIER.

"GENERAL GERARD.

"LOBAU.

"ODIER."

Lieutenant-General Count Gerard was appointed Commandant-General of the regular forces of the nation.

The institution of a Provisional Government was indispensable. A municipal commission was to watch over the common interests in the entire absence of a regular organization. Messrs. AUDRY DE PUIRAVEAU, COMPTE GERARD, JACQUES LAFITTE, COMTE DE LOBAU, MAUGUIN, ODIER, CASIMIR PERRIER, and DE SCHONEN, composed this Commission.

A body of armed citizens were in want of a leader. M. Evariste Dumoulin immediately proceeded to the house of General Dubourg to propose to him to take the command. "I have just arrived from the country," said the General, "and have no uniform here." "You shall soon have one," was the reply. In a quarter of an hour a uniform was

brought. The General, with a party which augmented every instant, marched to the Place de la Bourse. There General Dubourg delivered an harangue, and marched with his corps of citizens for the Hotel de Ville. It was already in possession of the national troops, and General Dubourg entered. M. Dumoulin went immediately to M. Lafitte's, where the deputies were assembled, to make known these proceedings, and General Lafayette immediately set out at the head of the National Guards, and amidst universal acclamations, to the Hotel de Ville, where he was installed in his functions. General Dubourg was appointed to command at the Bourse.

In the course of the proceedings to-day there appeared the following

PROCLAMATION.

"THE AUTHORITIES who derived their title from the Charter have torn it to pieces, pronounced their own condemnation, and abandoned all their posts; all good citizens have now only to follow the dictates of their own courage and conscience. The people have taken up arms; they have maintained order, and are on the point of reconquering all their rights; but organization is still called for in every direction. To obtain it, it is earnestly desired—

"1. That the Deputies of the departments assembled at Paris will immediately proceed to the Hotel de Ville, which is become the centre of organization, there to consult on the measures to be taken.

"2. That the mayors of Paris do immediately repair to their respective mayoralities, to wait the instructions that will be sent to them for the maintenance of order, and the defence of persons and property.

"3. That each of the mayors will send one of his deputies to the Hotel de Ville, to join in forming a commission to deliberate upon the interests of Paris.

"4. The members of the definitive bureaux of the colleges of Paris at the last elections will meet at the chief places of their respective mayoralities, to form together with the mayors a permanent council.

"5. The Deputies of Paris are specially invited, in the name of the duties imposed upon them by their nomination by their fellow-citizens, to proceed immediately to the Hotel de Ville.

"6. All persons employed at the prefecture are required to repair to their posts to execute the orders of their superiors.

"7. The legions of the National Guards will muster in their respective arrondissements.

ments, in order that they may, by the usual measures, protect persons and property.

"For the Provisional Government.

"Hotel de Ville,

"July 29.

"J. BAUD.

"By order of Gen. DUBOURG.

"Colonel ZIMMER."

"A true copy,

"BIERRE, elector of the 11th arrondissement."

The Provisional Government sat at the Hotel de Ville, and resolved, 1st. To hoist the national colors; 2d. To defend Paris; 3d. To dethrone Charles X; 4th. To perpetuate a constitutional monarchy; 5th. To appoint the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; and, 6th. To assemble the Chambers on the 3d of August.

The Provisional Government made the following appointments, viz.:—

GUIZOT, Public Instruction.

General GERARD, Minister of War.

SEBASTIANI, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Duke of BROGLIO, Minister of the Interior.

Vice-admiral TRUGUET, Minister of Marine.

Baron LOUIS, Minister of the Finances.

DUPIN, sen., the Seals.

BAVOUX, Prefect of the Police.

CHARDEL, Director of the Post-office.

ALEXANDRE DE LABORDE, Prefect of the Seine.

General Lafayette, who had been in arms for the independence of America, and in arms for the liberty of France in the Revolution of 1789, now—again in arms for the freedom of his beloved country—issued the following

"ORDERS OF THE DAY.

I.

"THE GENERAL commanding in chief, on issuing this his first Order of the Day, cannot refrain from expressing his admiration of the patriotic, courageous, and devoted conduct of the population of Paris. They won their freedom in 1789, and France will owe them the same obligation in 1830. The commandant-in-chief considers it a cause for great satisfaction, to the capital and himself, that he is aided by the co-operation and counsel of General Gerard, whose name alone promises every thing for France, and for all Europe, and towards whom the General-in-chief feels bound to express his personal gratitude for his conduct towards his old friend on this important occasion. The generous conduct of the citizens of the capital is a sufficient guarantee that they will maintain that which they have conquered, but the necessary repose must be united with

the noble efforts which the country and the cause of liberty still require from them. The Commandant-in-chief is therefore occupied in regulating the duty in such manner that a part only of the citizens need be under arms on each day. Orders in this respect will be published.

"MY DEAR FELLOW-CITIZENS AND BRAVE COMRADES,

"The confidence of the people of Paris has once more called me to the command of the public forces. I accept with devotedness and joy the duties intrusted to me, and, as in 1789, I feel myself strongly supported by the approbation of my honorable colleagues now in Paris. I make no profession of my principles—they are already well known. The conduct of the population of Paris during the last days of trial has made me still more than ever proud of being at their head. Liberty shall triumph, or we will all perish together.

Vive la Liberté! Vive la Patrie!

"July 29.

"LAFAYETTE."

II.

"THE NATIONAL GUARDS of Paris are re-established.

"The colonels and officers are invited to re-organize immediately the service of the National Guards. The sub-officers and privates should be ready to muster at the first beat of the drum. In the mean time, they are requested to meet at the residences of the officers and sub-officers of their former companies, and enter their names upon the roll. It is important to re-establish good order, and the Municipal Commission of Paris rely upon the accustomed zeal of the National Guards in favor of liberty and public order. The colonels, or in their absence the chiefs of battalions, are requested to present themselves immediately at the Hotel de Ville, to consult upon the first steps to be taken for the good of the service. This 29th of July, 1830.

"LAFAYETTE.

"A true copy, &c., ZIMMER."

While the authorities were deliberating, a letter was delivered to General Gerard from the commander of one of the regiments of the garrison of Paris, stating that, if the General would send a Colonel, the regiment would obey his orders. The general immediately sent one of his aides-de-camp, who took the command of the regiment. The same happened with another corps. General Gerard took the command of both, and in an energetic speech thanked them for preferring their country, and real military honor, above all things.

General Du Bourg was elected General of the National Guard at Paris, and issued the following Address :—

"CITIZENS,—

"You have elected me by universal accord to be your General, and I trust to prove myself worthy of the choice of the National Guard of Paris. We fight for our laws and our liberties :—citizens, the triumph is certain.

"I engage to respect the orders of those who have been placed over you, and to obey them implicitly.

"The troops of the line have already joined us, and those of the guard are ready to give their adhesion. The traitors who have excited a civil war, and who believed themselves able to massacre the people with impunity, shall be compelled to render an account, before the tribunals, of their violation of the laws and of their bloody conspiracy.

"Le General DU BOURG.

"Paris, July 29.—At the head quarters of L' Hôtel de Ville.

"The general rendezvous is at L' Hôtel de Ville. We have powder."

The Deputies, availing themselves of the popularity of Lafayette, addressed the people of Paris in a proclamation commencing with his heart-stirring name.

PROCLAMATION OF THE DEPUTIES.

"Head-quarters of the National Guards of Paris.

"GENERAL LAFAYETTE has been to-day, as he was in 1789, nominated General-in-chief of the National Guards. Count Alexander de la Borde, one of the deputies, resumes his functions as Chief of the Staff. M. Audry de Puyraveau, merchant, another deputy, has been appointed by the General-in-chief to be his first aid-de-camp. To Arms! To Arms! Brave Citizens of Paris! To Arms, ye National Guards! We call upon you in the name of the nation. The women are invited to make up tri-colored cockades, the only national color.

"BRAVE CITIZENS OF PARIS,—Your conduct during these days of disaster is above all praise. While Charles X. abandoned his capital, and gave you up to gens-d'armes and Swiss, you defended your homes with a courage truly heroic. Let us but persevere and redouble our ardor,—let us but put forth a few more efforts, and your enemies will be overcome. A general panic has already taken possession of them. We have stopped the courier they had despatched to Dijon for reinforcements, and to recommend the

Duchess d'Angoulême not to return. A Provisional Government is established; three most honorable citizens have undertaken its important functions. These are Messrs. Lafayette, Choiseul, and Gerard, in whom you will find courage, firmness, and prudence. This day will put an end to all your anxieties and crown you with glory.

(Signed)

"LES DEPUTÉS DE LA FRANCE."

"July 29.

Other addresses and proclamations were issued by the provisional government and its functionaries. The Bourse was made a state prison and hospital. The large place in front of the Bourse was the dépôt of arms for the people and the rallying point. General Dubourg's exertions, at that post, were unremitting.

Meanwhile the youths of the Polytechnic School took command of the artillery and directed the movements of the people. Lads of fifteen commanded regiments of men of forty, fifty, and sixty years of age, and they obeyed those well-disciplined and brave boys with all the eagerness and submission which a royal army would display towards an ancient general. They mustered their forces on the Place de la Bourse, and set off for the Place de Grève: they were greeted in all the narrow, dirty little streets, by shouts of "Vivent les Bourgeois!" Vive la Liberté!" "Vive la Charte!"

The National Guard, at the head of a body of citizens, marched to dislodge the Swiss and Royal Guards, in the Rue de Richelieu, and the Rue St. Honoré. It proceeded—greatly surprised by not seeing any troops. It reached the Theatre Français, and not a soldier appeared. Suddenly the windows of the houses opposite the theatre, and consequently behind the detachment, were thrown open, and three or four Swiss stationed at each window commenced a murderous fire. The number of the dead and the wounded increased with frightful rapidity, and the front of the theatre was covered with dead bodies. The citizens, receding behind the pillars of the theatre, took every possible position for continuing the assault with success. At the end of an hour the besieged capitulated. They were made prisoners, amounting to about 40 soldiers and officers, and among them a captain of the Royal Guard. The people marched their prisoners to the Place de la Bourse; but those who had families were allowed to go and dine with them, upon giving a promise to return again in the evening.

The neighbourhood of the Hotel de Ville was the theatre of a dreadful conflict. The

people occupied the Quai Pelleteir and the Place de Grève. After a most sanguinary struggle, they were slowly beaten from the Quay into the Place de Grève, which with the Hotel de Ville they maintained with unexceeded heroism.

At the Place de Grève thousands of the finest troops in the world found themselves engaged with citizens variously armed. Here a small party of elderly National Guards, with a courage only equalled by that of the beardless students of the Polytechnic School, opened their fire on the Garde Royale—horse and foot, and artillery, French and Swiss—taking especial care to avoid injuring the regiments of the line, who remained grave spectators of the slaughter that ensued. The Royal Guard attacked the pupils of the Polytechnic School, in order to carry off their cannon, the latter, perceiving the fault committed by the Guard in attacking them in front, instead of endeavouring to make a diversion on their flanks, cried out, "They don't know their trade—we shall defeat them."—The end verified their assertion:—they were the victors after a dreadful carnage.

In another direction were the people of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine and Marceau, desperately fighting with pikes, or other less offensive weapons—thousands of women and unarmed people looking on and encouraging the citizens.

The people were fired upon from the windows of the Archbishop's palace. They attacked it, and finding in the state apartment a stand of arms, with gunpowder, they destroyed all the furniture, except what they threw into the Seine, or sent to the Hotel Dieu for the accommodation of the wounded. Much of the plate followed the furniture into the river: part of it was recovered and lodged in the Hotel de Ville. The people would not allow pillage. Two or three men detected in plundering were shot upon the spot.

At a very early hour this morning the Swiss were posted to defend the Louvre. Three of them were placed behind each of the double columns on the first floor, and others at different parts of the palace, whence they could fire in security. The people resumed the breaking up of the pavement in the streets contiguous. At half-past four, at the extremity of the Rue des Poulies, a narrow short street leading from the Rue St. Honoré, the people were forming a barrier with the paving-stones on the left of the Louvre. Upon this point a fire was commenced by the Swiss, and kept up for several hours, without intermission, during the whole progress of its erection. Shots, from a window of the house next the spot, divided the atten-

tion of the Swiss; but many of the populace fell. One, after he had received his death wound, shrieked out to his associates, "*Vive la Nation!*" and instantly dropped upon the stones at which he was at work. This event drew forth loud shouts of vengeance from his companions, and seemed to make a momentary impression on the royal troops. When the barrier was completed, the people began a brisk fire from their entrenchment, and the assault and defence were obstinately maintained.

The attack on the Louvre was from three points—on the side of the grand front, opposite the Pont des Arts, and at the entrance of the Caroussel on the quay side. A body of the Swiss, near the Rue de Coq, commanded the Louvre, and were engaged with the people. The officer of this detachment, and M. Duval Lacamus on behalf of the people, agreed to observe a truce for an hour. While these gentlemen were conversing together, a public functionary pointed his musket, and was going to fire. The officer reproved him severely, and ordered his soldiers to carry him to the guard-house.

The truce having come to an end, the attack was renewed, and the fire on each side fiercely kept up. In the heat of the assault two of the assailants climbed the barrier, and, springing forward, gained the iron railings enclosing the front of the Louvre, where there is a dwarf wall, about two feet and a half high, under which they lay down, and began to fire upon the troops. They were followed by two of the National Guard. One of them carried a large tri-colored flag, with which he contrived to crawl to a water-butt standing close to the railing, and from behind it he managed to place the flag, with his gun and bayonet, on the railing of the Louvre. This courageous act was hailed with reiterated cries of "*Vive la Nation!*" and the example was followed by others, and thus the assailants were protected by a double entrenchment, and continued the assault with increased energy. A young man daringly climbed the gate, and forced it open. About 200 of his fellow assailants detached themselves, and passed it in the face of heavy volleys of musketry. The main body soon rushed after them; the greater part of the Swiss fled to the Tuilleries, and in a few minutes the Louvre was in the possession of thousands of the people, and the tri-colored flag flying from its windows. The Swiss that surrendered were marched prisoners to the Bourse.

A body of 5000 or 6000 people assailed the Tuilleries: they had to combat two regiments of the Royal Guards posted in the Garden of the Infants, and three strong

detachments of Lancers, Cuirassiers, and Foot Grenadiers, occupying the Carousel, supported by a reserve of Artillery planted in the Garden of the Tuilleries. The attack commenced in the Garden of the Infants. The Royal Guards permitted the first assailants to approach, and there the contest ended almost as soon as it was begun, by the slaughter of the front rank. Almost at the same instant, fresh assailants drove back the defenders of this important post. In the midst of a constantly rolling fire the iron railings were broken down. This, which in the end rendered the people master of the Tuilleries, was effected with extraordinary resolution and rapidity. Still resistance was offered with bloody obstinacy on other points, particularly the Pavilion of Flora, from which a constant firing had been kept up from seven in the morning upon the Pont Royal, and many were killed. Musket-shots, from the apartments of the Duchess of Angoulême, were fired without cessation. As soon, therefore, as the Pavilion of Flora was taken, every article of furniture, and thousands of scattered papers, among which were proclamations to the troops, to stimulate them against the citizens, were thrown out of the windows. Twice the Palace of the Tuilleries was taken and abandoned, but the citizens were finally victorious, and two tri-colored flags were planted on the central pavilion. Except the destruction of the furniture above mentioned, little excess was committed. Arms, of course, were eagerly seized wherever found, but the only trophy carried off by the victors was a very richly ornamented sword, said to belong to the Duke of Ragusa.

It was by a breach in the beautiful exterior railing of the palace of the Tuilleries that the people entered on the Rue Rivoli side: the damage to it did not extend beyond twenty feet, which was of necessity broken down.

An ensign who presented himself in the Place de Carousel, when the attack was going to commence, advanced in ordinary time up to the triumphal arch, without a single retrograde motion, although more than a thousand musket-shots were fired at him from the Castle. He then intrenched himself behind the arch, where he kept his ground until the Castle was taken by the Parisians.

One of the first of the people that entered the palace through the Pavilion of Flora (from the windows of which part the fire had been tremendous, and the people had suffered the most) found himself with two Swiss, and a hand in hand struggle ensued. The crowd rushed in, and the three were

precipitated through the window, but none of them was hurt.

An Englishman, who came up just after the people had taken the palace, succeeded in gaining entrance, and relates as follows:—

“A flight of papers from the windows of the Tuilleries that look on the bridge showed that the sanctuary of Majesty was in the act of being invaded. The gate of the garden was open. I ventured in with the rest. The smashing of glass and window-panes gave me to fear that the work of destruction was beginning. At last I found myself in the hall of the Tuilleries.—Men, armed and unarmed, were rapidly ascending the staircase. I stood hesitating; the troops had just retired hastily to the Champs Elysées and some were still firing on the besiegers at one corner of the Carousel. It was like venturing into the lion's den, with a possibility of his return. A young Frenchman passed me, saying aloud that it was an occasion not to be let slip. I thought so too, and mounted with the rest. I beheld vast and magnificent rooms, to which the grandest apartments of new-furnished Windsor are not comparable, trod by men armed and unarmed, artisans, simple blue-frocked peasants, who had never, except as workmen, perhaps, set foot on floors *parquetés* and *cirés* before. The most private recesses of royalty were laid open to the vulgar gaze. I observed a party curiously examining the toilette-table of a splendid bed-chamber, understood to be that of the Duchess de Berri. Her perfumed soaps were submitted in turn to sundry noses, and the other particulars of a lady's toilette were scrutinized, with various reflections. The state-bed, with its rich silken draperies, was gazed on by profane eyes, and touched by profane hands. In my progress through the apartments, I remarked the originals of several well-known prints. There was Louis SEIZE distributing alms on a winter's day, on one side of the room, and, on the other, gazing on a map of the world. There too was Louis DIXHUIT, a crafty old gentleman, reposing in his arm-chair, and looking at once, as a soldier termed him to an English party, in 1814, ‘both the *père* and the *mère* of his people.’ These were portraits that awakened no animosity. But in the Salle des Maréchaux, one portrait—only *one*—was no sooner seen than it was torn out of the frame and rent in tatters. It was ‘Ragusa’—the ‘double traitor Marmont.’ The vast magnificent apartment, with the throne, the state bed-chamber of majesty, the royal cabinet, were successively explored. On the floor of the latter, they scattered sun-

dry fragments of books and half-torn papers. I picked up two at hazard; one was in print, the other manuscript: both related to priests; it was a *sors Virgiliana*, that told the character of the imbecile Monarch, his folly and his fate. I was more curious to observe the conduct of the multitude on the occasion, than inquisitive after the details of sumptuous and costly royalty. The thought that first led me into the Tuilleries was this: I will go in with the rest, that there may be at least one impartial evidence of the conduct of a French mob, under circumstances of strong temptation and peculiar aggravation. I cannot say that I observed a single act of downright plunder. One or two men, whom I remarked looking up and down a solitary apartment, wore that sinister air which betokens an intended unlawful appropriation: but this was only surmise; they took nothing whilst I remained. An elderly artisan, who had picked up some trifling matter, and had apparently been charged therewith by some of his comrades, was exclaiming loudly against their injustice, and drawing a distinction between the appropriation of something by way of memorial and the baseness of plundering. Neither was the spirit of destruction abroad. It is true, the silk curtains, whose *couleur rouge* stimulated the beholders, were not respected. The armed men were busy hewing them with their swords into portions convenient to wear as scarfs, and several had already arrayed themselves in this, one of the three popular colors. Chandeliers were also a little damaged: but this was done inadvertently, by men carrying muskets and bayonets with too little deference to those superb ornaments. The simplicity of a blue-frocked peasant had nearly caused the destruction of the plate glass which fills one of the large compartments at the end of the throne-room. He was walking hastily along, as through an empty door-way, and seemed not a little astounded at being violently repelled by what had appeared to him empty space. The only instance of plundering I witnessed was one of the least reprehensible, though in its consequences likely to have proved the most pernicious. His majesty's private stock of wines had been discovered: the day was hot—every throat was parched. I myself had a little before envied a draught of the Seine water, which a man was lading round in a wooden bowl to the droughty conquerors of the Louvre. The bottles were no sooner detected than, without the trouble of drawing corks, they were decapitated, and the rich contents poured down the throats of grimy citizens, in such continuous streams as threatened the subversion of what intellect the bottle-drainer

possessed. I cannot, however, be severe on a fault in which I participated. The temptation proffered me by a polite tri-colored warrior, who presented me with a bottle he had just broached, was not to be resisted on a day when every thing exhorted to drink. It was some of the finest Madeira I had ever tasted. In another room, I remarked other partisans busily satisfying the cravings of an insatiable thirst: but not always with equal good fortune. An individual who had impatiently knocked off the head of a bottle, and poured into his mouth as much as his wide capacity could contain, spit it out again with a wry face, and many and vehement exclamations of disgust. I examined the label on the bottle—it was *véritable eau de Scidlitz!* I consoled the unfortunate craftsman, like Ludovico in the 'Mysteries of Udolpho,' by telling him the good wine was serving out in the next room."

M. Eugene Lovat, whom courage had placed at the head of the assailants, remained in the palace with his pistols in his hand, for the preservation of the property, till nine o'clock at night. He called one of the people, a workman, to assist in preventing any thing from being stolen. "Be quiet, my captain," said the man, "we have changed our Government, but not our consciences." Two other artisans, who entered among the first into that part which the Duchess of Berri inhabited, found there a casket of bronze, enclosing a large sum in gold. Overcome by the load of it, at the court of the Louvre, they asked a citizen to join them in protecting the treasure. The three carried it to the Hotel de Ville, where the precious burden was deposited, without asking or receiving any reward. At the gates of the palace, an individual was found pillaging, and shot. Every body caught pillaging was severely chastised and compelled to surrender what he had taken. Some men who found new trousers in one of the guard-rooms, put them on over their own. The trousers were immediately torn off by their comrades, with a unanimous cry,—*"We came here to conquer, not to rob."* Two workmen found in one of the apartments a pocket-book, containing a million in bank notes—they delivered it up without abstracting any thing from it, and would not even give their names.

Scarcely any damage was committed after the first general rush into the palace, when the people tore down the curtains for flags and sashes to wrap round them; and converted gilt mouldings into pike staves. At that moment of excitement they threw papers out of the windows, with birds of Paradise, rich feathers, and gay millinery. Some of



THE WOUNDED PEOPLE CARRIED TO THE HOTEL DIEU.

these were afterwards collected, and with other articles of value, which had been removed from their places, were deposited at the Hotel de Ville. The picture of the coronation of Charles was entirely destroyed. A statue, in silver, of Henry IV., while a boy, and a colossal statue of Peace, in silver, were not touched. The bust of Louis XVIII. was for a moment removed; but, it being recollected that he gave the Charter, it was, by a good feeling, restored to its place. Among the curiosities brought to light by the rude hands of the captors was a long dress, lined with hair; at one extremity was an iron collar, and at the other a chain. The use of this vest in such a place could not be explained by the crowd. It was the hair cloth dress worn by his most Christian Majesty, in penance for sin.

In the rage of conflict, while the energies of the people were simultaneously wrought to the utmost possible height against their

enemies, they looked out for each of themselves that fell. If a dropped man was wounded, he was instantly succored by his nearest comrades. In a moment they were as brothers to him; two or three desisted from the carnage, lifted him, staunched the blood, bore him off in their arms, placed him with soothing on the first shutter or a rude litter, and conveyed him at once to where surgical aid awaited the arrival of these constant casualties; and then flew back to the attack. If the man fell dead at once, they stood upon his body, as upon an altar consecrated to freedom, and, animated by his departed spirit, fought with deadlier purpose. The Hotel Dieu was the chief hospital for the wounded; they were borne thither in crowds, during the fury of the engagement. The way before this hospital became a piteous and exciting scene: eyes, unused to weep, dropped tears for the passing sufferers, and manly bosoms heaved with fierce resolves to

avenge their gushing-wounds, and hold a death-grapple with the phalanxes of the scorned and detested tyrant.

One of the pupils of the Polytechnic School was killed in the Tuilleries. His body was raised with respect by those whom he had conducted to victory, placed on the seat of the throne itself, and covered by pieces of crape which were collected by chance. It remained there till his brother, and other members of the family, came to claim his glorious remains.

The care of the Tuilleries, for the remainder of the day, was committed to the brave fellows who took it. They were principally of the working classes, and at night presented a most grotesque appearance. Here might be seen a young fellow of twenty or twenty-two carrying a halberd of the time of Francis I., inlaid with gold, dressed in a smock frock and trousers, with the casque of a cuirassier on his head. There another, with a blue shirt and trousers, encumbered by the long sword of a horse grenadier, and capped with the brass helmet of a pompiér; with a pistol or two to complete his armament. Farther off was a negro in livery, posted as a sentinel, with a cavalry carbine, and the broadsword of a Sapeur—joked with occasionally upon his not being white. On the Place du Caroussel was a very fine young fellow, apparently a laborer, in a canvas jacket and trousers, without stockings, wearing the feathered cocked hat of a marshal of France, captured from the wardrobe of the King—his fellow-citizens laughing at his pride, and he bearing it with the most imperturbable gravity. Near to him was a man with one sleeve from the red coat of a Swiss over his own, an archbishop's glove on the opposite hand, and a Lancer's spear on his shoulder. Among them were four Irish mechanics, who arrived "fortunately" in Paris "that very day," on their way to Charenton:—the thing was not to be withstood, so in they went with "the boys," and—"sure 'they must stay and do their duty!"

It was almost impossible for the cavalry to act efficiently in the unpaved streets, blocked at short distances with stone redoubts thrown across, and holes in the ground filled with water. But the greatest obstacle to the military was the invincible courage of the people. It was evident that the troops were dejected. Some of them had not tasted food for thirty hours; and they fought, moreover, against their own countrymen. The Swiss were still more dejected; for they apprehended that no quarter would be shown them. They were wrong. The people fought like lions; but they spared the lives of all who surrendered. Many of the Cuirassiers surrendered their

swords. The Lancers of the Guard—the finest body of men in the country—fought with heroism and constancy, and were dreadfully cut up. Many of them, private soldiers, were young men of family. The manner in which the Swiss fought, and the nature of the engagement, may be taken from the following instance:—A company of them defended one portion of the Rue St. Honoré, and were reduced to sixty. They fought in three lines of single files. The people occupied the whole breadth of the street in front of them. In this position the foremost Swiss soldier would fire, or attempt to fire, and was certain to fall pierced with balls before he could wheel to gain the rear. The same occurred to the next, and so on until they had every one fallen.

The contest in the Rue St. Honoré, at the Louvre, the Tuilleries, and at the Place de Grève, was maintained with the most deadly obstinacy. The Rue St. Honoré, for two days, was a perpetual scene of slaughter. The Louvre, except the picture gallery, was on all sides attacked and defended at the same moment, and for hours. In the court of the Louvre a field-piece was planted, which commanded the Pont des Arts, being exactly opposite the Institute. Here the fighting was so dreadful, and so maintained, that the front of the Palace of the Institute is speckled with musket and grape shot. One cannon ball smashed a portion of the wall, and, from its elevation, did dreadful execution in sweeping the bridge. The attack on the Tuilleries was over in two or three hours. A young fellow marched on with a tri-colored flag at the head of the attacking Bourgeois. A thousand balls, fired from the front of the Chateau, whistled by him without touching him. He continued to march with *sang froid*, but with, at the same time, an air of importance, up to the triumphal arch, and remained there until the end of the battle.

While the people and the military were combatting at the Place de Grève, the Louvre, and the Tuilleries, troops were arriving by the Champs Elysées. A great party of the people, and many National Guards, with two pieces of cannon, were hastening along near the Place Louis XVI., towards the Barrier St. Etoile, when a large troop of dragoons arrived, made a desperate charge, and cut down the people without mercy, who made a very bold stand. Many of the soldiers solemnly vowed that they would not continue to obey orders to massacre their brothers and sons. Their numbers were thinned; they were fatigued, disheartened, discomfited, beaten, and fled. At Chaillot, a district of Paris verging on the route to St. Cloud, the inhabitants, though few in number, sus-

tained the fire of five regiments of the Guards, who attempted to effect their retreat by the Barrier of Passy.

At length all the royal troops left the capital by the way of the Champs Elysées, and in their retreat were fired upon by the people.

From imperfect statements of occurrences, hastily written at the moment, without data as to time, it has not been possible to state the events of this decisive day in their order. The result, however, is indisputable.

The people, with undaunted intrepidity, opposed the veterans of the Royal army, withstood the assaults of cavalry, and infantry, and artillery—became themselves the assailants, and finally conquered.

During ten hours the warfare raged without ceasing. The National flag was successively planted on every public edifice where the Bourbon flag flew. At four o'clock in the afternoon, there was not a man in arms against the people of Paris.

After the troops had quitted the capital, there was an immediate calm. Holes were dug in the streets or public gardens, and many of the dead collected together and interred. The wounded were conveyed by hundreds to the Bourse, the Hotel Dieu, and other public hospitals.

The citizens, after two or three hours' repose, were again summoned to prolong their exertions, and redouble their energy, upon information that an attack was threatened the next day. This rumor was unfounded. The enemy had fled to return no more. It was a victory so complete as to utterly astound and leave the parasites and minions of the arbitrary king without a single hope.

In the army of Charles X. the loss of officers was beyond all proportion greater than that of the privates. They were picked out of the ranks with fowling-pieces or rifles. Prior to the taking of the Tuilleries, the Guards and Swiss lost three-fourths of their superior officers, most of them by rifle balls. A gentleman, well known in the fashionable circles of Paris, boasted and was believed to have killed fourteen officers by his rifle alone.

Where the great battles were fought, the dead lay as they had fallen, in heaps. Where the combats were accidental, there were frail memorials of the recent deadly strife. "Here and there," says a writer, "you turned aside to avoid a puddle of blood, or the stark corpse of some unhappy veteran, that lay covered only by the grey military cloak.—I noticed a deserted corpse

that lay in a corner, with a label attached to the breast. It was evidently one of the humblest citizens, and the address was 'Rue St. Antoine.'—Honor to whom honor is due."

At the beginning of the conflict, on the 27th, the people of Paris were without leaders and acted without concert; and during the three days displayed bravery and virtue that will ensure to them lasting fame. The following are a few individual characteristics of to-day.

M. Auguste Pascou, a young student at law, during the taking of the Swiss barracks in the Rue de Babylone, perceiving that his comrades, terrified by the first firing, were beginning to retreat, got upon an eminence, where he remained during the whole of the attack, unceasingly exciting them, both by his words and example, although he had received two gun-shot wounds. A short time afterwards he was at the taking of the Tuilleries.

A young man, mounted upon a valuable horse, and from his dress and equipments evidently wealthy, applied every where, in vain, for arms, that he might join in the common defence. He perceived a good musket in the hands of a man whose dress declared him to be a poor scavenger. "My friend," cried the young man, "I will give you 100 francs for your piece." "Oh, no, Sir," replied he, "it is my best friend." "I will give you 500 francs." "No, Sir; it has already brought two of our foes to the ground, and it will bring down more still. I shall keep my good friend."

An unfortunate workman, covered with blood and sweat, asked for a little nourishment. During the two days on which he had been fighting he had eaten nothing. An individual welcomed him. He was scarcely seated, when a firing was heard. He threw away the bread, and, hastening to join his countrymen, fell from exhaustion, and died.

Some artizans passed along the boulevards, under the command of one of their comrades, who had been appointed their chief on account of his good sense and experience. At the point of their weapons were loaves of bread and fowls, which had been distributed among them. Several of the troop, finding themselves opposite a wine vault, separated for the purpose of getting some spirits, but returned to their ranks at the voice of their Commander. "To-day," said he, "not one drop of brandy—not one drop of wine, without water, must any of us

drink. We must carry all drunkards to the guard-house." All the brave men set up an immediate cry, "Our Captain is right," and went their way to fight, without any other than their generous and ardent love for liberty and their country.

At night, when all was over, a person going home overtook half a dozen workmen of the Faubourgs St. Antoine and Marceau, who, with the utmost gentleness, kept the crowd from pressing on three other men who were slowly moving in the centre. The demeanor of those guards and the crowd indicated pity and respect. The group within was composed of two of the men from the Faubourg, and a wounded trumpeter of the Grenadiers a Cheval, who had fallen while sounding a charge of his regiment. He had been conveyed into a neighbouring house after the battle by some of the combatants, and was now deemed able to walk to the Hotel Dieu. At the Place du Chatelet the party halted, and something was said to the wounded man, who wished to decline (gratefully, however) an offer. "Bah!" said one of his supporters, "a drop of good wine never did any man harm," and they entered a cabaret. His conductors were his captors.

A young National Guard, having committed a mistake in one of the movements of his exercise, was laughed at by the spectators. "I made no mistake," said he, "in fighting yesterday the enemies of liberty."

The hardihood of the children was a striking feature to day, as it had been before. The Marquis of Chabannes, who commanded the Lancers, was killed by a boy of fourteen. Armed with a pistol, he seized the bridle of the Marquis's horse; the horse, to disengage himself, lifted his head violently, and raised the boy from the ground. In that position he blew out the Marquis's brains.

It was impossible for a man's courage to fail him, seeing, as he went along, old men, children, and women, of all classes, providing for their defence by strengthening the barricades, opening all the doors of their houses, and mounting stones up to their rooms to whelm upon their enemies.

Women were eminently conspicuous for heroism. At one of the barricades the people were resisting the onset of a body of Swiss Guards. A number of females, rushing from a lateral street with pitch-forks and knives, and similar instruments of destruction, fell on the rear of the Swiss, and in the twinkling of an eye numbers of them were

weltering in their blood. At one point a woman headed the bourgeois, and was the boldest of the combatants—if degrees of bravery can be admitted in this most memorable conflict of modern times. A woman, in man's clothes, fought at the attack on the Swiss barracks in the Rue Plumet. Youths, not more than from twelve to fifteen years of age, were pushed out of their homes by their mothers, who commanded them to go and fight for their liberties. These women showed no marks of fear; they held loaded pistols in their hands, and some were carrying paving stones into the houses to dash upon the soldiers. So great was the universal excitement, and the disregard of personal danger, that many ladies in the second rank of life accompanied and assisted their sons in making common cause with the people, and went from street to street encouraging their relations during the hottest of the fight. At the attack upon the Louvre, women advanced during the firing of the troops to rescue and pull out the wounded, and send them where they could have surgical aid.

On this day the students of the Polytechnic School made the most valorous attacks and defence. They fired away and headed the citizens two days and nights against the troops. Some of these boys of ten and twelve years old, with pocket pistols in their hands, crept under the muskets of soldiers, levelled against the citizens, and, when near enough, fired their pistols in the bellies of the soldiers. A boy of less than ten returned from a charge with two bayonet wounds in his thigh, and yet refused to yield his arms.

At the capture of the Tuilleries another pupil, who was also at the head of the armed citizens, presented himself at the railings. A superior officer immediately approached. "Open," said the young commander, "if you do not wish to be all exterminated; for liberty and force are now in the power of the people." The officer refused to obey his summons, and pulled the trigger of his pistol, which did not however go off. The young pupil, who preserved all his coolness, seized the officer by the throat, and directing his sword against it, said, "Your life is in my power; I could cut your throat, but I will not shed blood." The officer, affected by this act of generosity, tore from his breast the decoration which he wore, and presented to his enemy, saying, "Brave young man, no one can be more worthy than you to wear such insignia; receive it from my hand. I have worn it till now with some credit, and I am certain that you will continue to do the

same. Your name?"—"Pupil of the Polytechnic School;" and the young man immediately rejoined his companions.

In one of the skirmishes with the Royal Guard, that body had, after its repulse by the citizens, left a piece of artillery in an unoccupied area, to which, however, there was still danger in approaching on account of the firing. A pupil of the Polytechnic School, who was at the head of the armed citizens, ran up to the piece, which he seized with both his hands. "It is ours," he said, "I will keep it—I will die rather than surrender it." A cry was heard behind him, "The brave are dear to us—you will be killed—return!" The young man heard not a word, but held the piece more tightly in his embrace, in spite of a shower of balls which rained around him. At last the Royal Guard was obliged to retire still further by the fire of the citizens, who kept continually gaining ground, and who at length reached the piece and saved the youth who had so bravely seized it.

The gratitude of the people to the pupils of the Polytechnic School almost reached veneration. One of these fine young men, who had taken no rest for the last three nights, fell asleep from weariness on one of the mattresses designed for the wounded. When evening arrived, he was taken, without knowing it, to the Hotel de Ville, and when the appearance of his uniform excited acclamations wherever he passed, those who carried him said, 'Respect his misfortunes.' The crowd took off their hats, and passed on.

The feeling of honor among the people respecting property which fell into their hands was most remarkable. One man who considered he had a right to a watch was shot. A few who appropriated to themselves some effects of the officers of a large dépôt of *gen-darmes* were stripped, and some of their clothes burnt, along with the epaulettes, furniture, &c., of the officers. Where officers, soldiers, &c., surrendered their posts, their property was respected. Some poor workmen, having forced the shop of a gunsmith, who had already surrendered his powder, sought for more in all quarters, even among his furniture. In one of his drawers they found some money and a bill. One of them shut the drawer instantly, and said, "This is not what we were looking after."

Throughout the entire contest there was no pillage, no disorder of any sort. The wounded soldiers were taken as much care of as the wounded citizens. In fact, the instances of generosity, of devotion to the "good old cause," and of respect to the laws,

were without number. They did not even maltreat one of their inveterate enemies—the *gens-d'armes* of Swiss. They took their arms only to turn them instantly against the troops who still continued to resist.

Foreigners of all nations, English, Germans, Russians, Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese individuals of every country in Europe—who happened to be at Paris, openly declared for the people of Paris, and many personally aided in the struggle.

Several young Greeks, residing in Paris to finish their education, took a very active part in the combats. At the moment of danger they got arms, and mixed themselves with the masses of people who were courageously fighting in the streets of the capital.

Many Italians were in the hottest of the engagements, and some led on the citizens.

An officer of the Royal Guard was about to run M. Huet, an ex-serjeant of the 17th light infantry, through the body, when Giovanni di Aceto, a brave Italian youth, only seventeen years of age, levelled the officer with his pistol, and saved Huet's life. This courageous lad distinguished himself each day, as the undaunted leader of thirty citizens of all ages, and gallantly fought at the Hotel de Ville, Port St. Martin, the Rue St. Honoré, the Tuilleries, and in other most desperate engagements.

Mr. Lindo, an Englishman in the house of Orr and Goldschmidt in Paris, voluntarily entered his name on the list of the National Guard, braved the fire of the common enemy, and after the victory mounted guard for forty-eight hours, without quitting his post for a moment.

Mr. Bradley, an English physician, in Paris, was prodigal of his professional care to the wounded, at the capture of the Barrack of the Rue Babylon. During the fight he went from street to street, and from house to house, to attend to the wounded, and continued to visit them after their removal to the hospitals.

An Englishman who had been settled in Paris for 10 years, as a wood-engraver and type-founder, as soon as the ordinance for the suppression of the Press was issued, apprehending that his business would be utterly destroyed, and having private affairs to arrange in London, took out his passport for the purpose of removing his family and other concerns to London. Being detained by accident for a few days, he cast all the materials he could convert into bullets for the supply of the National Guard, and neither his exertions nor his bullets were thrown

away. Our correspondent says he saw a certificate in the party's favor, attested by the constituted authorities of his district, relative to his spontaneous and seasonable, as well as disinterested and effective services, and acknowledging them with thanks to his honor.

Another Englishman who had been established for a number of years as a printer in Paris, and who has an establishment in London, shut up his office, and fought in the Boulevards, on the 28th, as a *tirailleur*, and procured several muskets for his men. On the 29th, accompanied by some friends and several of his workmen, he was at the attack of the Louvre, and among the first who entered the Tuilleries. He afterwards attacked the Royal Guards intrenched in houses in the Rue St Nicaise and St. Honoré. From the corner of the street they kept up an incessant fire for nearly an hour, till at length he called on the others to follow him, and rushed through a shower of bullets into the house in possession of the guards, who, seeing themselves thus assailed within and from without, surrendered. He received from them upwards of sixty muskets, officers' sabres, &c., and employed every effort to save the men; but, the firing still continuing from the third story, the people were so furious that they slew every guard that they could approach. Two of his men were killed; one of them has left three infant children. On his return home at night, besmeared with blood and gore, he was loudly greeted by his fellow-citizens and neighbours. Mr. Pouché, formerly letter-founder in London, was on the spot where the above workmen were killed, and generously gave 200*l.* to the widow.

Whatever was the precise number of lives lost, it is agreed on all hands to have been much less than was expected, considering the military force, and the multitude of people engaged in combat. It was remarked in favor of the Life Guards, on the inquest held on the bodies of Honey and Francis, who were killed at Cumberland Gate, Oxford Street, on the occasion of your late Queen's funeral, that not a single *cut* had been given by the soldiers, although it was proved that they had struck down many of the people with their sabres. The same remark is nearly as applicable to the conduct of the cavalry arrayed during "the three days" against the people of Paris. The Lancers were engaged throughout, and made frequent and furious charges; they were shot and bruised, and their horses killed or lamed under them by bullets, stones, bottles, and other missiles. The same may be said of the Cuirassiers and

the mounted gens-d'armes. Nevertheless there were not, it is believed, twenty men wounded by thrusts of the lance, or *coups de sabre*, during the three days. The horse soldiers fired their carbines and pistols frequently; but the uncertainty of a shot fired by a man on horseback is well known. The comparative harmlessness of the operations of the cavalry may be attributed partly to the humanity of the soldiers, partly to the panic with which they were struck in the unnatural warfare, and partly to the impossibility of acting with effect against such an enemy as was opposed to them. In the midst of the engagements, on each day, the streets were crowded with spectators, and with men waiting for the chance of obtaining arms. The cutting down these would have been useless, as it would not have reduced the number of their foes, and in the interim their own lives would have been greatly endangered. The truth is, that the troops were rendered powerless by the suddenness and astounding character of the circumstances in which they were placed. Adjoining to the house which forms the corner of the Rue de la Paix and the Boulevard is a large house or hotel enclosed by a wall, which was surmounted by wooden palisades, in which large spikes were fixed. Immediately opposite to it was stationed a Lieutenant's guard of Lancers. Farther on towards the Rue Montmartre, and on the Boulevard Poissonniere, the battle raged. The troops were consequently on the alert. Notwithstanding which, the people in their presence, and within five yards of them, tore down the palings spoken of, and proceeded deliberately to knock the spikes out of them for pike heads, by striking them against the large stones placed to prevent carriages interfering with the footpath. The Lancers occasionally galloped across to prevent them, and the people fled; but, as the Lancers were obliged to resume their ranks, the people returned, and proceeded with their work until the whole of the paling disappeared. At another time, the Lancers charged up to the Rue Richelieu, and returned on the "fast trot." In the short interval a wall, made with stone and mortar, three feet high, had been built across the Boulevard, near the Rue de la Paix. Thus divided, without communication, and menaced with death in a thousand shapes, the dispirited cavalry were almost totally inefficient. If willing to wound, they were afraid to strike. They might at the swift gallop overtake the people, who generally ran when about to be charged, but in doing so the danger of a volley from a cross-street, and from the houses, was imminent. They rarely ventured, therefore, upon a real attack. Twice or thrice in the course of the

same day they cleared the Quai Pelletier up to the Place de Grève, but the murderous fire of their assailants was insupportable, and obliged them instantly to retreat.

On the first day, and even before they left their barracks, the greater part of the officers and soldiers of the line agreed among themselves not to fire upon their fellow citizens. The commandant Maillard, of the 15th light infantry, positively refused to order his battalion to fire, in spite of the reiterated commands which he received. At the same time, in another quarter, the sub-lieutenant Lacroix, of the same regiment, who commanded a detachment stationed at the prison of Montaigne, divided his time between preventing the prisoners from escaping and inducing the soldiers to meet the people as brothers. This brave officer remained at his post till the next day, and then delivered it up to the National Guard.

In short, the military felt for their country, and sympathised with the people. The French army is recruited by conscription, a species of ballot, by which an annual supply is obtained from the ranks of citizens and farmers. In time of peace it is composed of the same order as our militia, if not of a better. The privates of the line can all, with a few exceptions, read and write; and hence the politics of the day make an impression on the French soldiery that statesmen, accustomed to view them as passive instruments of power, can never bring themselves to credit. The soldiers of the line are, for the most part, well acquainted with both the nature and extent of the prerogatives of the Crown and their limitations, and the sacred rights which the Charter purported to the people. It was not, therefore, surprising that upon Wednesday the 5th and 53rd regiments refused to fire upon the people who came in a mass to the hotel of Prince Polignac to demand the revocation of the ordinances of the 25th. On that occasion officers of the line and of the staff were heard to recommend the leaders of the popular party to be firm in their demands; but not to proceed to violence whilst a hope of success was left by treating with the ministers.

There is in the following letter from an officer of the Royal Guard to Prince Polignac an expression of feeling which animated many of equal and superior rank in the French army.

“MONSEIGNEUR,

“After a day of massacre and disaster, undertaken against all laws, human

and divine, and in which I took part only out of human respect, with which I shall ever reproach myself, my conscience imperiously forbids me to serve an instant longer. In my life I have given so many proofs of devotedness to the King that I may be permitted, without it being possible for my motives to be calumniated, to make a distinction between what emanates from him and the atrocities now committed in his name. I have, therefore, the honor to beg you to lay before his Majesty my resignation as Captain of his Guards.

“I have the honor to be, &c.,

“Count RAOUL DE LATOUR DU PIN.”

Notwithstanding the troops had retired, there was some apprehension of a renewal of the combat. The following conversation passed between a gentleman and a general officer in the Elysee Charles :—

Q. “Well, General, I am glad to see the troops withdrawing: it is of course settled.”

A. “Settled, indeed! you are mistaken, Sir. True, the troops have withdrawn for a moment, but it is only to join other regiments at St. Cloud, and commence an attack to-morrow.”

Q. “You surely do not mean to attack your brothers and fellow subjects, unarmed as they are, and seeking as they are to gain the liberties taken from them.”

A. “I know nothing of that, Sir, as a soldier. But I tell you that, unless conditions be arranged to-night, we shall bombard Paris to-morrow.”

On the royal route to St. Cloud, which is a back or bye road, estaffettes had passed every half hour throughout the day to St. Cloud, announcing to the King the movements of the army, and the progress of the siege.

The Royal troops, driven from the capital, were stationed in the Bois de Boulogne, exhausted by fatigue. The Mayor of Auteuil was required to provide them with provisions and refreshments. He addressed himself accordingly to the principal inhabitants of his commune, who answered that in complying with his request they should be furnishing their own enemies with support, since these troops had fired upon their brothers in Paris. However, from motives of humanity, provisions and refreshments were provided. The Duke d'Angoulême went in person to thank the Mayor for the provisions given to “his army.” The Mayor could not help saying that all the misfortunes which now afflicted

France, and were recoiling upon the Royal Family, would not have happened had the King governed constitutionally. At these words the Prince turned his bridle and rode off. In a minute afterwards he sent an aid-du-camp to inform the Mayor that if he had any thing to communicate he would hear it with pleasure, provided it was not in the presence of his troops.

The greater part of the troops of the guard concentrated round St. Cloud. Their advanced posts occupied on one side a hillock below Calvary towards Neuilly; on the other they extended towards Meudon. Means of resistance were organised at Neuilly, to hinder them from passing the bridge, which, however, they did not appear disposed to force. On the contrary, every thing seemed to be preparing for a further retreat. Many of the men loudly declared that they would join the citizens if they were ordered to return to Paris.

It is said that the duke of Ragusa proceeded to St. Cloud, to render an account of his services. The Duke d'Angoulême evinced his dissatisfaction in unmeasured terms, and said, "You have treated us as you did others." The day before Marmont had pledged himself to keep possession of the capital a fortnight longer, and already came to announce that it was in possession of the rebels. Turning towards a garde du corps, the Prince directed him to bring the Marshal's sword, which having received, he endeavoured to break over the pommel of his saddle, and ordered Marmont under arrest. Charles X., informed of what had happened, expressed regret at his son's violence; but, that the Prince might not be injured in the eyes of the court, the arrest was limited to four hours, by which time dinner was ready. It was announced to the Marshal that a cover was placed for him at the royal table; but he refused to appear.

On the return of the troops, the King reviewed them. No one cried "Vive le Roi," and the line cried "Vive la Charte!" The ministers, who, in pandering to the pleasure of his unconstitutional will, had flooded the capital with blood, now waited upon him and resigned their portfolios of office. He immediately appointed the Duke de Mortemart Minister of Foreign affairs, and Count Gerard Minister of War; and charged them with the

formation of a new council. His next step was to recall the ordinances of the 25th of July. This was his first concession.—It was forty-eight hours too late—on Tuesday it would have satisfied the people. Yesterday and to-day they had purchased with their blood the power to dictate. He instructed the Duke de Mortemart to treat with the new authorities in Paris, and stipulate, on the basis of his abdication and that of the Duke d'Angoulême, that the Duke of Bourdeaux should be proclaimed King. The Duke is said to have expressed unwillingness to undertake such a commission without a written authority. The King swore on the faith of a gentleman, a knight, and a Christian (not on the faith of a King) that he would abide by the engagements which the Duke might enter into in his name. He was affected even to tears; and, when the Duke de Mortemart persisted in requiring his signature, he replied by lifting up his trembling hand, to show that it was incapable of holding a pen!

At night, part of the town was illuminated, particularly the streets St. Denis, St. Martin, St. Jacques, and the neighbourhood of the Hotel de Ville. Perfect tranquillity prevailed throughout the city. Strong patrols silently paraded the streets, passed gently from barricade to barricade, and disarmed individuals whom fatigue and the heat of the weather, more than wine, had rendered incapable of employing their weapons usefully.

This was a mighty revolution in behalf of happiness for France effected in three days. The press pointed out the danger, and urged the people to save the commonwealth. The first blow was struck by 400 or 500 men deprived of daily bread by the suppression of the newspapers; aided by other working people who had been thrown out of employment. Every thing was effected by the great mass of the laboring classes, assisted by the small shopkeepers, all led on by the students of the Polytechnic school. Few of the wealthier inhabitants made their appearance until the danger was over.

The Hampdens of France were the *canaille* of St. Antoine, St. Denis, and St. Martin. 'High-born and high-bred' warriors never achieved a victory more beneficial to mankind. The freedom, not only of France, but of all the continent, was weighed in the balance against despotism, and prevailed by the efforts of soiled and swarthy artisans.

SUMMARY ACCOUNTS OF THE PRECEDING DAYS.

M. LEONARD GALLOIS kept an account day by day, and hour by hour, of what passed during the memorable days on the Boulevard St. Antoine, the Place Royal, the Place de la Bastille, and the Rue St. Antoine. This gentleman, deprived of the use of his limbs, and confined by that infirmity to his chamber, was deeply interested by the important events passing in Paris; and his residence being in the quarter du Marais near the Faubourg St. Antoine, the Place Royale, and the Place de la Bastille, he took his station each day at the window of his chamber, which looked upon that part of the Boulevard where the Corps-de Garde were posted. From thence he vigilantly observed all that passed within sight, while his son, an intelligent youth, acted as his scout, and brought him intelligence. What M. Gallois saw, and the information he obtained, he published in a narrative (sold in London by M. Dulau, Soho Square) from which a translation of the important days is annexed.

M. GALLOIS' NARRATIVE.

Monday, July 26th.

About two o'clock I sent my son to the Palais Royal for some books of which I had need. In less time than he usually takes on such an errand, I saw him returning breathless and covered with perspiration. He held in his hand the second edition of the *Messenger des Chambres*, in which the ordinances were published, but not the report of the ministers. "I bring you," he cried, "sad news."

I read the ordinances: and I could not help thinking that I was dreaming.

In a state of stupid abstraction I read them over even a third time, when some persons living in the same house came and convinced me that I was awake, by giving me a copy of the *Moniteur*. The report of the ministers, which it contained, made the whole matter plain. On reading each paragraph of this master-piece of jesuitism, I could not help exclaiming "It is false! The ministers lie! Themselves have rendered the revolution imminent!"

Still I did not imagine it was so near breaking out. Every countenance about me was sad and downcast, and during the whole day nothing was heard at the Marais but imprecations against the Ministers. Some said that the ordinances would certainly provoke a terrible movement; but many persons

thought that the sacred fire of liberty was extinguished in the souls of the French. Thus were my most cherished hopes damped.

However, the peaceable inhabitants of the Boulevard St. Antoine manifested a certain feeling of inquietude, which the want of the liberal journals contributed but little to allay. Like my son, they besieged the doors of the reading-rooms, accosted all persons coming from the central parts of Paris, and wearied them with questions. They learned nothing, except that the King and the Ministers appeared determined to employ rigorous measures against those who did not choose to submit.

The day passed without my being able to read a newspaper; for I had no wish to look at any in which I was sure to find only apologies for the acts of the Ministry, and attempts to excite the violence of the Counter-revolutionary party.

Tuesday, July 27th.

As early as five o'clock in the morning I resumed my seat at the window, now become my observatory, and my son took his post at the reading-room door. I soon perceived, by the movement in the Boulevard, that I only was not anxious. Several of those peaceable citizens, known by the name of the *Rentiers du Marais*, paraded the cross alleys of the Boulevard. Every one went in the direction of the Bastille, whence I heard a confused noise, indicative of a numerous assembly. I saw great numbers of workmen, mostly in their shirt sleeves, go up and down, gesticulating and talking earnestly. A few words, which reached my ear, convinced me that they were discussing political subjects, and I soon heard the cry of "*Vive la Charte!*" The insurrection, therefore, broke out as it were from the midst of a calm.

About ten o'clock my son informed me that all the shops were shut, and that it was reported that the workmen of the Faubourg St. Antoine were preparing to advance into the heart of Paris. I confess I felt some degree of fear, lest this Faubourg, formerly so terrible, should disgrace such a dignified resistance as I had been informed was then spontaneously organizing at Paris. I dreaded again to behold those brigands who stained the character of the first revolution. I expected to see every moment file off bands of those ill-omened and ferocious figures, as disgusting in appearance as in language, whom I had seen exhibited in the plates re-

presenting the scenes of that epoch. But, during the whole day, none appeared on the Boulevard St. Antoine, but respectable looking workmen, by no means ill dressed, though unencumbered by jackets or coats. They seemed determined, it is true, and even menacing; but I could observe no prognostic of disorder. No where was to be heard those rude expressions which were formerly the common language of those who were called "*the people*." The grossest words used by this innumerable body of workmen, while moving along the Boulevard, were such as these: "Those * * * then flatter themselves that they have to do with imbeciles."—"Do the * * * Jesuits take us for Cossacks?"—"They shall soon see whom they have to do with. We will show them our teeth, while they show us their rumps."—"The whole *canaille* must be put to flight again!"

This language plainly showed that these persons took the matter seriously, and were full of zeal. I can affirm that I saw no one among them who seemed above their own condition, or who had the appearance of heading or exciting them. They had neither chiefs nor incendiaries. They consulted no one, and no one volunteered to direct them. All the workmen in the Boulevard seemed to be waiting for some event, of which they were not certainly the provoking party. Up to eleven o'clock they raised no other cries than "*Vive la Charte!*" "*Down with Polignac!*" "*Down with the Ministers!*"

Immediately afterwards several persons were seen hurrying from the Boulevard du Temple towards the Place de la Bastille, crying out that a battle was begun in Paris, that the troops had fired upon the inhabitants, and that the Rue St. Honoré and the environs of the Palais Royal had become the theatre of a horrible civil war.

This news electrified the workmen. They called for arms and leaders. Some rushed to the gate Saint Antoine, others towards the Boulevard of the Temple. In a moment the Boulevard St. Antoine was empty. Not a single person remained before my windows. My son came to tell me that all was bustle in the Place Royal and in the street St. Antoine; that arms and leaders were called for; that the gun-makers' shops had been forced open throughout Paris; and, lastly, that many inhabitants had assembled on the Place Royale and the Place de la Bastille, some armed with guns and rusty sabres, others with pistols, swords, spits, pikes, and pitchforks, crying out, "*Down with Polignac!*" "*Vive la liberté!*" I found great difficulty in restraining my son; he wanted to look after a gun, and set off, like all the rest, to the

place where the troops were firing on the people. "The Porter's son is gone," said he, "and I remain behind; the Porter himself would have been off by this time had not his wife detained him." I used persuasion, and endeavoured to convince him that I could not do without him. He yielded to my intreaties, but disappeared every moment under the pretext of going to obtain news.

What I heard from persons passing was vague and confused. "There is a fight; the people are being murdered." That is all they deigned to tell me, while hurrying off in search of arms.

My impatience and alarm now increased. I saw many ready to fight, but very few armed! We had every thing to fear from the numerous regiments in Paris with artillery. What is to become of the poor people who are marching on to the very mouth of the cannon? If Paris yields, the cause of liberty, of reason, of humanity, is lost for ever! I remained for some moments overcome by mournful reflection.

The workmen re-appeared upon the Boulevard, and I saw them descend in groups. They proceeded towards the Porte St. Martin, where, it was said, war was also raging. This long procession did not raise a single cry. A sombre appearance of despair clothed the whole crowd. I remarked, however, that those who possessed guns considered themselves fortunate, and marched at the head of bands, as fierce as Artabanès. It was sufficient to have a gun and a cartridge box to become the leader of a party. These parties were, however, composed of men, most of whom were not armed even with sticks. They marched with their arms crossed as if they were going to their work. All at once I heard the cry raised, "*To the docks!*" and the crowd immediately rushed to the dock-yard opposite the Boulevard, and armed themselves, some with logs of wood, others with poles, which they flourished over their heads, exclaiming, "*Vive la liberté!*"

What do these brave men mean to do with a few rusty guns and cudgels?—It is out of my power to follow them!

I see filing off even children, some of them with pistols in their hands. I tremble for them. I tremble for the sacred cause which they are going forth to defend.

Every moment I saw detachments of different regiments pass along. The *gen-d'armes* were hooted. The lancers and cuirassiers were received with cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" which a few of the military repeated. The galloping of horses every minute announced that fatal orders were despatched to all the posts.

What a day of anxiety! No news of what is passing; for every one leaves the Boulevard, and no one returns from the heart of Paris. I enquired of my son whether there were any police ordinances, or proclamations from authority. He replied that neither the police nor ministers showed themselves.

The culpable ministers then hide themselves, after brandishing the torch of civil war! They hide themselves, after signing an order for the extermination of a generous population, only guilty of resisting their libetricide acts! On all sides a unanimous exclamation of indignation is raised against them. As for Charles X. every one says "this is what he wanted, and, those who were royalists before the publishing of the ordinances, repeat—*It is indeed his work!*"

About four o'clock my son returned with a triumphant air. "The *National*," said he, "has appeared, but I could not obtain one. I bring you the *Temps*. It contains the protest of the journalists, the same as I read it in the *National*, with the single exception that it does not give the signatures." "Honor to the editors of the *National*! Honor to the editors of the *Temps*!" I exclaimed, seizing at the same time the latter journal. I read the protest of the editors of the liberal journals. It gave me intense delight. "I will not," said I, "despair of the public cause."

The clock has just struck five. Many persons are returning from the centre of Paris, all of whom tell me that there have been battles at different points, and that the fighting still continues; but that it is difficult to know what is doing, because the streets in the neighbourhood of the Palais-Royal are choked up with immense crowds.

At length I obtain positive news. M. Denain, the bookseller in the Rue Vivienne, arrived, and had the goodness to tell me all that he knew, all that he had seen and heard. This gentleman, an active and sincere patriot, assured me that there prevailed throughout the whole population, not only irritation, but real enthusiasm. He said that every thing showed the existence of a spirit of great determination, from which important results might be expected; that the National Guard was re-organizing itself, and would be under arms to-morrow morning; that no one knew where the ministers were; and that it was even said that the king had set out for Compiègne. Finally, he told me that Rouen and Orleans had risen, and that 2000 men from Rouen were marching to the assistance of the Parisians. He added that it was the general opinion that the morning of the 28th would be a hot one, and that he

and his friends had taken measures accordingly.

M. Denain infused balm into my blood, when he assured me that the patriotism of the Parisians would render the cause of liberty triumphant.

I was confirmed in these agreeable ideas by the patriotic traits which some women displayed. One of them, a general's widow, went to the Palais-Royal, declaring that, if money was wanted to make a revolution, she would give it to all who needed it. I know her to be a woman who would keep her word.

Two other women furnished traits worthy of Spartan mothers. The first, Madame R——, armed her two sons, and sent them forth to defend the cause of liberty. This patriot mother remained two days without hearing any news of them. She was weeping for them, when she saw them return safe and well.

The other Spartan mother, Madame Vénut, was asked where her son was: "My son," she replied, "is among the combatants." "How, Madam! do you allow him to mix in those brawls!" "He must act like the rest; if no one went, we should have to stretch our neck quietly to the knife." "But if he should be killed?" "I should console myself by reflecting that he died for his country."

It should be known that he is an only son and a youth of great promise, the idol of his mother! She has been more fortunate than many other mothers. Her son has returned triumphant, and the cause of liberty prospered because the women embraced it with so much ardor.

Before leaving me, M. Denain brought to my notice that fine prophecy in the sublime political satire of our young and great poet, Barthelemy, entitled, 1830:*

Vous donc que le monarque a mis dans ce haut rang
Où l'on peut demander l'or et même le sang;
Hardi préparateurs qui, sans bien les connaître
Triturez chaque jour la poudre et la salpêtre,
Gardez-vous de tenter un frottement trop dur;
Quand vous portez un coup, qu'il soit prudent et sûr;
Songez que sous vos pieds le calme est transitoire:
Depuis les premiers temps de notre antique histoire,
Il existe toujours des Francs et des Gauvies,
Les amis du pouvoir et les amis des lois;
L'un de ces deux partis soumis au plus habile
Comprime non sans peine une humeur indocile,
Et comme l'ours captif, esclave indépendant.
Sous sa bride de fer obéit en grondant.
Que leur feinte union, trêve indéterminée,
Dure de jour en jour ou d'année en année;
Que le faible, content de dominer le fort,
Dérobe tout prétexte à sa haine qui dort;
Que du serment commun nul d'entre eux ne s'écarte.
Tant qu'armés de leurs droits, appuyés sur la Charte,
Nos ministres hautains, dispendieux commis,
Viendront nous demander leur salaire promis,
D'un pacte dur pour nous rigides signataires,
Livrons sans murmurer nos deniers tributaires;

* This satire is sold at Denain's, Bookseller, Rue Vivienne, Paris; and by M. Pulau, Soho, London.

Malheur à l'insensé qui viendrait à dessein
Du poids de son épée aggraver le bassin !
Au moment de l'oser, qu'il médite et qu'il tremble !
On dit que du Conseil où la nuit les rassemble
D'effrayants bruits vers nous ont circulé,
Que les vagues échos de leurs murs ont parlé
D'édit, de coup d'État ou de lit de justice.....
Silence ! que jamais ce mot ne retentisse ;
Le pacte enfreint par eux serait rompu par nous ;
Lasse depuis long-tems de marcher à genoux,
Au seul geste, au signal d'un ordre illégitime,
Ce peuple bondirait d'un élan unanime,
Et brisant sans retour d'arbitraires pouvoirs,
Il se rappellerait le plus saint des devoirs.

This prophecy anticipated by several months the catastrophe of the ministers.

During the same evening there were circulated many reports which my son communicated to me. It was affirmed that the constitutional Peers had wished to remonstrate with the King, but that he had declined receiving them ; that the new Deputies who had arrived in Paris had met and had protested against the illegality of the ordinances ; that in the course of the day many other Deputies were expected, as well as the venerable Lafayette ; it was also asserted that M. de Bellevue had been arrested for having authorized the printing of the *Journal du Commerce* ; that all Paris was in the utmost agitation ; that the public indignation was general ; and that some great disaster was expected.

Wednesday, July 28th.

At four on the morning of Wednesday, the 28th, I repaired to my observatory, and my son went in quest of news. The usual noise of coaches, &c., had ceased, and unusual tranquillity prevailed on the Boulevards of Paris. The Omnibuses and *Dames Blanches* were no longer conveying the Parisians from one extremity of the capital to the other for thirty centimes, and the fiacres were all put up ; the only vehicles to be seen were a few cabriolets and calèches driving in the direction of the *barrières*.

Before 6 o'clock the Boulevard was crowded with working men. Some had arms, and others were loudly demanding to be supplied with them. They were informed that *Francini's* and the theatres *la Gaîté et l'Ambigu-Comique* were distributing the arms they used in their military spectacles. The men hurried towards the Boulevard of the Temple ; but all the arms were disposed of. Thus disappointed, they renewed their cries for "arms" and "commanders," and many added "a provisional government !" Those who had muskets descended from the Boulevard, and many others followed them with sticks and pikes.

The crowd which hurried to the centre of Paris did not consist entirely of the working

class of people. I observed many well dressed men, and even young men of fashionable appearance. The latter were for the most part armed with muskets and sabres, and were also furnished with cartridge-boxes.

Finding that my son did not return as soon as I expected, I began to be alarmed. Our breakfast hour arrived and he was still absent.

None but those who are similarly situated can conceive my anxiety ! People were constantly arriving ; but I did not recognise, in the men whom I saw defiling, the famous, the redoubtable, Faubourg St. Antoine. I had as yet seen nothing alarming, nothing hideous.

At length my son returned, covered with dust and reeking with perspiration. He had been at the Palais Royal, and he informed me of all he had seen and heard. There had been fighting until two in the morning in the Rue Saint Honoré, and many persons had been killed. He assured me that preparations were making for the most vigorous resistance ; that some of the streets were unpaved ; that the National Guard was about to appear in uniform ; that general Lafayette was in Paris, and whither the ministers had fled was unknown. There were no Journals, no documents from authority. A provisional government was every where called for. The name of Lafayette was repeated from mouth to mouth among the National Guards, and the people in general.

At eleven in the forenoon, ordinances and patrols rapidly succeeded each other on the Boulevard St. Antoine. The patrols consisted of a hundred men, and they marched along the whole width of the Boulevard, which by this means they cleared, whilst the people took refuge in the back alleys, exclaiming "*Vive la Charte !*" "*Vive la Liberté !*"

I soon heard men coming from the centre of Paris, crying, "*Vive la ligne !*" "*à bas le Roi !*" These new cries led me to suppose that the troops of the line had fraternized with the citizens, and that a great revolution had commenced.

The wind, blowing from the east, prevented the inhabitants of this quarter from hearing the fusilade in the Rue St. Honoré, and its neighbourhood. About one o'clock several discharges of musketry announced a skirmish on the Boulevard St. Martin, or even nearer. I was all ears ; and the populace, both armed and unarmed, thronged in the direction of the firing.

The cannonade was now heard at a greater distance :—it was therefore evident that there was fighting at several points ! The fusilade approached the Boulevard St. Antoine ; and the fires in file, and fires in platoon, were

distinctly heard. This firing lasted nearly an hour.

The people who were hurrying to the Place de la Bastille informed us that there had been an engagement at the Port St. Denis, and on the Boulevard St. Martin; that the troops of the line had constantly shown themselves disposed to disobey the ministerial orders, but that the Royal Guard had fired every where, even at the windows which they saw open.

A lady, who lodges in our house, has just arrived from the scene of action, where she happened to be, greatly against her inclination. She fancies she yet hears the balls whizzing round her, for she had saved her life by taking refuge in a stationer's shop; and she informed us that the troops were marching towards our quarter, which had hitherto been tolerably peaceable, compared with the other districts of Paris. On the other hand, I was informed that the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Antoine were organizing themselves and preparing for defence.—“Where then is your Faubourg St. Antoine, of which so much has been said?” enquired I, in a tone of dissatisfaction; “is it composed of the working people whom I have seen passing by since the morning, and of whom five-sixths are not even furnished with sticks?” “What you have seen is nothing,” answered a person who came from that Faubourg; “you will see the Faubourg St. Antoine come down in the course of the day.”

At that moment discharges of musketry, at the distance of about two hundred paces, announced that there was an engagement near at hand. There was a great commotion in the back alleys of the Boulevard, where there were still many working people collected. There was a cry of “Close your windows!” and immediately a vast number of troops debouched, at a quick step, marching in close columns, the whole width of the boulevard. A party of soldiers, ranged as sharp-shooters, preceded them at the distance of twenty paces. These sharp-shooters fired in the air, and often at the windows; they did not wish them to remain open, lest the troops should be fired at. Unfortunately the blinds of my chamber window were open and fastened against the wall, and I could not rise to close them. I was, therefore, exposed to danger; for I was behind my window, and a soldier of the Royal Guard, who mistook my crutches for muskets on the rampart, threatened me. I turned half round and concealed myself behind the thick wall, thinking that it would be doubly vexatious to be killed so foolishly.

The sharp-shooters continued firing. The chief portion of the troops marched forward

in silence. At the guard-house, which was before me, the customary forms were observed. The word of command was given by the advanced guard, and the troop defiled. After a regiment of infantry came a squadron of lancers, and then more infantry, and cuirassiers. The dust, and the position in which I was forced to remain, hindered me from seeing whether there was any artillery; but a few moments afterwards I was convinced that there was some.

This troop, all of the Royal Guard, foot, as well as horse, which I estimate at about 2000 men, took up its position on the Place de la Bastille. But no sooner had it arrived there, than the firing of musketry was heard in that direction. Firing in file and in platoon succeeded each other without intermission, and the report of cannon was heard every three or four minutes! There was loss of life on both sides. The inhabitants, having but very few arms at their disposal, were forced to retire before the column, which then advanced as far as the cross roads of Reuilly. Here it was reinforced by a battalion and two pieces of cannon from Vincennes.

I was afterwards informed that the discharge of musketry had been vigorously kept up a little beyond the Rue de Charonne, where many victims had fallen; that the houses at the corner, near the fountain, were perforated with balls; and that scarcely a pane of glass remained in the windows. It was at this fountain that the citizens made the greatest resistance; while the troops were fired upon, stones, sticks, and every thing that the inhabitants could collect, were thrown from the windows.

The column advanced no further; but soon returned to the Place de la Bastille, whence it proceeded to the Place de Grève, by the way of the Rue St. Antoine. The troops fired in the street; the people returned the fire; and here, as well as in the Rue du Faubourg, stones were thrown from the windows as well as from the roofs of the houses. This column discharged several pieces of cannon in the Rue St. Antoine: the traces of balls are still visible on several houses; among others, on that at the corner of the Rue St. Paul. Notwithstanding the sustained firing of the musketry and artillery, the Royal Guard could not advance farther than the Rue Beaudoyer, whence it returned to the Place de la Bastille.

All this transpired between two and three o'clock. The firing then ceased; but about five o'clock the troop again entered the Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine. The firing of musketry and artillery was again renewed in that quarter, and many citizens were killed or wounded. The cannon, which were fired

against the windows, knocked down chimneys, &c. A sign, at the third story of the house called the *soldat cultivateur*, was broken by balls, traces of which are also visible on several other houses.

This second discharge of musketry lasted more than three-quarters of an hour, and cost, it is said, the lives of thirty or forty inhabitants, exclusive of the wounded, who were still more numerous.

At six o'clock the column returned to the Place de la Bastille, where it appeared disposed to bivouack. It was recalled by an urgent order in the direction of the Place de Grève, whither it repaired by the way of the quays. This movement astonished me; I could only account for it by supposing that the people had obtained advantages in the centre of Paris, and in the direction of the Tuilleries.

From that moment there were neither troops nor patrols in our neighbourhood: nothing remained but the guard-house. Some citizens collected, marched on the guard-house, and dismissed the guard, consisting of troops of the line, but without doing them any injury. The citizens kept possession of that point until eight or nine o'clock, when some men returning from the centre of Paris set fire to the guard-house, which, as it was constructed of painted wood, was soon consumed. I was much gratified to observe that these men who were so furiously destroying the guard-house took great pains to preserve a small barrack adjoining, in which a poor woman sold fried potatoes: it was saved from the flames.

But, while the barrack of the Boulevard St. Antoine was thus spared, that called the Curtius, on the Boulevard of the Temple, underwent great vicissitudes, on account of the busts of the royal family which were exhibited there. The wax images of Charles X., the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, the Duchess de Berri, Mademoiselle and the Duke de Bourdeaux, were broken to pieces, as well as the busts of the Popes and holy Personages by whom the royal family were surrounded. Every one carried off a fragment, exclaiming, "Down with Charles X.!" "Down with the Bourbons!" "Down with the family who are the enemies of our glory and liberties!"

The evening concluded, in our part of the town, with the breaking of a street lamp, by some ill-looking laboring men, the only individuals of that class whose appearance had hitherto displeased me. They seemed thoroughly intoxicated, and had, probably, come from the *cabaret* and not from the field of battle.

We now learned that there had been fight-

ing all day in the neighbourhood of the Hotel de Ville and the Louvre; but I was unable to learn any particulars. I was, however, assured that next day all the National Guards would be under arms, that we should have a provisional government, and that all would go well.

Thursday, July 29th.

This was a lovely morning. There was a slight mist, and the heat did not promise to be so great as on the preceding day, when it had been 27°.

At five o'clock some musket shots, fired pretty near me, made me feel some alarm. The commotion, which prevailed every where on the Boulevard, denoted an eagerness and an enthusiasm which I had not yet observed from my window. I soon learned that the shots I heard had been fired at the door of the gen-d'armes barracks, in the Rue de Tournelles, which the people had taken without resistance. The gen-d'armes, who were there, surrendered their sabres, carabines, pistols, cartridge-boxes, &c., with which a great number of the citizens had armed themselves. My son, who assisted at the distribution of the spoil of this barrack, related to me many traits of the captors' disinterestedness and humanity. Whatever hatred they entertained against the gen-d'armes, as soon as they saw them disarmed they helped them to carry their knapsacks and all that belonged personally to themselves, and no one attempted to purloin any of their property. The fugitives were even escorted to protect them from danger. The agents and clerks in the post-office, which is in front of the barrack, behaved admirably to the gen-d'armes, some of whom were allowed to deposit their uniforms in the post-office. I soon saw a party of the victors passing along the Boulevard Gendarmerie. They were elated with the joy of their success.

Meanwhile other musket shots were heard in the direction of the Faubourg St. Antoine. The citizens were trying their muskets.

The collection of armed men, among whom were many lads not more than fifteen or sixteen, momentarily increased beneath my window. Enthusiasm was at its height. I heard cries of "*Vive la liberté!*" "*A bas les Bourbons!*" "*Vive la Charte!*" "*Vive le drapeau tri-coloré!*" And some even presumed to raise the cry of "*Vive Napoleon II.*" I was informed that the famous Faubourg St. Antoine would appear at nine o'clock.

I now, for the first time, saw the National Guards pass by in uniform. This gave me great pleasure. The people received them with cries of "*Vive la Garde Nationale!*"

A moment after, cries of "*Vive la ligne!*" were addressed to some unarmed foot soldiers who passed by with their knapsacks on their backs. They enquired their way home. Those who directed them, said, "*Bon voyage, bon voyage*, comrades; tell our friends there that we shall speedily make an end of this, and that, if France does as we do, the tri-colored flag will be waving every where in a week." These soldiers, I was informed, belonged to one of the corps of the line which had fraternized with the inhabitants. In the course of the day, many more of these troops passed.

The sun, which until eight o'clock had been concealed, shone out brightly about nine o'clock. Many unarmed citizens were still lingering on the Boulevard, when some young men, with good muskets, passed, and said, "Go to the Arsenal! It has just surrendered, and they are distributing arms and powder." On hearing this, all hurried off in the direction of the Arsenal.

At this moment I heard drums beating a quick march. They were those of the National Guard of the Faubourg. A quarter of an hour afterwards cries of joy, and the beating of a quicker march, announced the approach of a citizen troop, which defiled by the Rue St. Antoine. The National Guards in uniform were at its head, a tri-colored flag floated in the ranks, and the whole population greeted it with acclamations.

Let it not be said that a flag or a cockade is merely a vain sign. Men become attached to them, wear them with pride, and often lose their lives rather than abandon them. The glorious tri-colored flags are noble national colors, awakening dear recollections in the mind of every Frenchman. I could well conceive the transports of joy excited by the sight of the tri-colored flag, inasmuch as I myself shared them. I recollected that those colors had, as it were, waved over my cradle. I had seen them float amidst those demi-brigades which conquered and regenerated Italy; and, amidst these glorious recollections, I thought of the many hours which, since the restoration of the Bourbons, I had passed on the quays of Marseilles, gazing on the Dutch flag, the three colors of which served to call up gratifying illusions. I had always hoped that the enormous fault committed by the Bourbons, in proscribing the national colors, would sooner or later furnish the friends of liberty with a rallying point that might prove fatal to those who had rejected the tri-color.

After this first national troop, which came down from the Faubourg St. Antoine to the centre of Paris, three numerous battalions defiled successively, drums beating and

colors flying. Meanwhile the commotion continued on the Boulevard St. Antoine. Armed men continued to arrive from that quarter until nearly noon.

An extraordinary calm now prevailed. No vehicle was stirring, no noise disturbed the silence which prevailed in the Marais; for the direction of the wind prevented us from hearing the engagements at the Hotel de Ville, the Louvre, and the Tuilleries. We, in the Marais, were tranquil, whilst blood was flowing in the centre of Paris, as it had flowed the day before on the Place de la Bastille!

The heat was excessive. A poor *marchand de coco** was passing along the Boulevard, when two armed men approached him, and each drank a glass of lemonade. One of the two put his hand into his pocket for the purpose of paying. "Never mind, never mind, said the *marchand de coco*, the republic will pay for it." The men thanked him, and set off at a rapid pace.

At the same instant two old men met each other. "Whither are you going, neighbour?" enquired the one. "I am carrying some dinner to my son, who has been down there all the morning." Thus these brave fellows went out to fight without knowing where they were to get a dinner. And yet our enemies scruple not to say that the revolution of July, 1830, was bought by gold. The brave artisans of the Faubourg St. Antoine, who repulsed the soldiers employed by traitors, were obliged to journey a league to get their dinners. They had not worked during the week, and we know that summer Sundays are fatal to their pockets.

About two o'clock, my son came to inform me of some disasters which had taken place on the Place Royale. One of the people, armed with a musket, had killed an officer of the National Guard carrying despatches; he had mistaken him for an officer of the Royal Guard, and, being somewhat intoxicated, had fired his piece at the officer. But no sooner had he committed this unwitting assassination, when another citizen laid him dead on the spot. Soon after a thief was taken, and shot on the same spot. The people seemed indignant to find that there were thieves among the ranks of the patriots, and they made a prompt and severe example of him.

A man, in a state of intoxication, who had menaced with his loaded musket the people who were peaceably walking along the Boule-

* What are called *marchands de coco* in Paris are men who carry on their backs vessels filled with lemonade sweetened with treacle. They sell this beverage at two liards per glass.

ward, was disarmed before my eyes, in spite of the resistance he made. The citizens who seized him were mechanics. "No one," said they, "should drink to day; to-morrow we will drink success to the republic." The piece thus obtained served to arm a youth, who set off at full speed.

It was about five o'clock when discharges of musketry, directed upon the Boulevard of the Temple, again roused our attention. I could not conceive the cause of the firing. It was maintained without intermission; but I did not observe the firing in file and in platoon, firing which I had noticed on the preceding evening. At the expiration of a few minutes, shouts of joy, mingled with the discharge of musketry, announced a victory.

A man, decorated with an order, exclaimed, addressing himself to me, "It is all over. The Hotel de Ville, the Louvre, and the Tuilleries, are taken. The Swiss, and the Royal Guard, have retreated towards the Champs-Élysées. . . . We have a provisional government. General Lafayette is at the head of the National Guard: he has under his orders the brave General Gérard. The pupils of the Polytechnic School, the Students of Law and Physic, have immortalised themselves. The National Guard is covered with glory. In a word, the whole population has shown itself truly heroic. Old men, women, children, all have rivalled each other in ardor. This will be one of the grandest festival days Paris ever saw. Liberty is saved, and for ever will dwell with the French."

As the citizen pronounced these words, I felt myself transported with joy. My dearest wishes were near being accomplished. I had again seen the tri-colored flag unfurled; it now floated over the Hotel de Ville and the palace of the Tuilleries. I saw at the head of the National Guard that venerable general whose very name struck awe among the enemies of the people. I felt my heart dilate, and yet I suffered some painful feeling amidst all this happiness. I was deprived of the most precious of blessings, health, without which I could render my country no actual service. But, for a moment, I felt my calamity lightened; and I thought I could have run and embraced all the citizens whom I saw returning. I heard them cry, "*A bas les Bourbons!*" Several rounds of musket shot, fired into the air, announced to their wives and parents that victory was with the people.

General Lafayette was proclaimed the saviour of France; cries of "Lafayette for ever!" "Liberty for ever!" rent the air; for each company, each platoon, each groupe,

repeated them once, and they were answered from the windows of the houses.

The conquerors continued to defile for a considerable time. The first stanzas of the Marseillais hymn were sung in chorus. I remarked in every company women between the ranks, carrying the muskets and swords of their husbands and brothers. A great many of the boys were furnished with cartridge boxes; and some had put on their fathers' fur caps. Never were my eyes so blessed.

I was still gazing with rapture, when another spectacle, of a more affecting kind, appeared in view. A platoon of twenty armed men, preceded by some National Guards in uniform, carrying branches of laurel, and followed by many women with children in their arms, issued from one of the cross alleys of the Boulevard. In the midst of this platoon was a bier, borne by several men: it contained the remains of one of the victims of the preceding day. In the course of the evening many similar funerals passed my window. The people cried out "hats off!" and every one uncovered with a feeling of religious respect.

ORIGINAL LETTER.

In the annexed letter from an English gentleman to a friend there is matter of amusement and interest. It has been obligingly communicated for this publication.

August 2, 1830.

My Dear R——,

As you may wish to get some account of the events which are now known over Europe, I write for your satisfaction a short notice of the circumstances which fell under my own observation. After paying a dreadfully long bill at Calais, we took our seats in the diligence, and in about thirty-six hours arrived at Paris. On Monday the 26th we took a warm bath and lodgings, and walked through some of the streets before we retired for the night.

On Tuesday we awoke, anticipating novelty and pleasure, and saw more of the city. We were rather disappointed by not finding the gaiety and light-heartedness we expected; there appeared bustle and anxiety rather than amusement and absence of care. At that time we little knew the cause.

About two o'clock, on our return home, we saw a large body of military, horse and foot, drawn up in an open space near the Champs Élysées. We stopped to observe their appearance, and compare with our own

men at home, and came to the conclusion that scarcely any troops could be found to beat them. Some of the cavalry soon cantered away, and we went to our lodgings.

To understand me perfectly, I must acquaint you that the Louvre, the Tuilleries, and the Champs Elysées, are in a continued line by the side of the Seine, and in the order mentioned, and that our lodgings are near the quays, but not on them, on the opposite side to the Louvre, &c. There are broad quays on both sides.

After dinner we went to walk in the gardens of the Tuilleries, and spent some time in admiring the novelty of the style. A bustle at one end attracted our attention, and we hastened to discover the matter. Near some new buildings, in a state of progress, were a set of men destroying the pipes for water, and, at the end of this building, heaping up piles of stones, and making a breast-high barrier across the street. This was in the Rue St. Honoré. Not understanding the language, and unwilling to expose our ignorance by asking questions, we remained a short time looking on, and then thought it advisable to retire. There was the appearance of increasing tumult, and we moved away until we came to a large church. We stood on the steps three or four minutes, busy in conjecturing the cause of what we had seen, when a loud shout arose; and, on looking towards the barrier, we saw a body of cavalry approaching it, and then we perceived the purpose for which it had been thrown up. The troop of horse was met with such a shower of stones and other missiles as quickly caused it to waver. Infantry advanced from behind, and, when at the barrier, fired; and in a moment the crowd was dispersed. We were within twenty yards, and, hastily quitting the dangerous position we had unwittingly taken up, we hurried across the street, and found shelter in a druggist's opposite. The firing continued for a short time, and then the soldiers occupied the place we had quitted. We were still ignorant of what was the matter; for the druggist was in a dreadful state of excitement, and, when the soldiers appeared opposite his house, he had ordered a dead silence to be kept. They marched off to secure the advantage they had gained, and the door was once more opened. I should have stated that the shops were all closed, and our getting shelter was providential in the extreme. As soon as the soldiers had left, the man of the house approached Tom, and, taking him by the shoulder, told him, in English, "that he could not permit his stay there; that his house was not provided" (against a siege I suppose) "and that he could

not harbour us." We were obliged to leave the house, and, as tumult and musketry mingled their discordant sounds behind us, we hurried forward, not knowing whither we went, or how we could return. Our uncertainty and personal danger resulted from our ignorance of French, and consequently of any cause existing for disturbance. We had convincing proof that child's play was not the order of day. Before we went ten yards, three men passed us covered with blood. One was of Herculean frame and colossal stature. He staggered towards us, exclaimed something in French, and dropped. He had been shot in the head; and a finer body I never beheld. The other two hastened to the druggist's shop we had quitted. After making a circuit, we turned down a street, presuming it might lead us to the river. At the end a crowd was collected round a man who had been shot through the breast, and was receiving assistance. Five minutes before we came up the soldiery had passed this spot, had been obstinately and bravely resisted, but had forced their opponents to retire. The wounded man we saw was one of many whom they had left in that state; this I learnt afterwards. You may imagine how we, who had come to Paris for amusement, were astonished and alarmed by the "untoward events" in our first morning's walk, during which musketry was constantly ringing in our ears, mingled with execrations from the infuriated populace, and the groans of wounded and dying men on all sides around us! We got home as soon as we could in safety, and enquired immediately concerning what we had seen; but either our imperfect attempts at French were unintelligible, or those in the house were themselves ignorant of the cause, for neither could understand the other. We determined to go the next day to Galignani's, where we were certain of finding Englishmen and obtaining information.

On Wednesday morning, after breakfast, we set out. Paris was in a frightful state of agitation. We passed through files of soldiers at the Pont Neuf. Within forty or fifty yards a huge barrier was thrown up. Paris is paved with square stones like those in Cheapside, but larger. These had been torn up and heaped together. Here there was an immense concourse of people, armed in every manner they could devise. We passed through the crowd and reached Galignani's, and there learnt, for the first time, that a great people were fighting for their liberties, and that "war to the knife" had been determined on. Scarcely had we entered Galignani's when the attack commenced—this was about eleven o'clock. The

firing continued all day, and with frightful exactitude. Cannon had not been used on Tuesday. To-day they played a chief part. Some gentlemen at Galignani's seemed much alarmed. One of them mentioned that he had applied for a passport and was refused. The mails also had been stopped. The conflict continued all day; and I witnessed many marks of its effects. Wounded men were carried along, and I remarked that they were unaccompanied, except by those who bore them. The bearers were generally two: the unfortunate man was laid on a sort of litter, made of two long poles, resting on the shoulder of the two men, and the sufferer was borne gently, but quickly. At the end of the Rue Vivienne is the Bourse, a noble building answering to our exchange. At this place I beheld a citizen bear the dead body of a woman on his shoulder, and cast it amongst the people collected to hear the news. He spoke in French a few words, which were answered by a loud and continued shout, and the people hurried from the spot. I, with a few others, remained to gaze on the lifeless body. She was about forty years of age, and had been shot by one of the Swiss Guards. I learnt that the address, delivered the moment before, was to the effect that the hearers would be justly punished for their inactivity and debasement, if the life or death of their mothers and wives was of equal consequence in their eyes. The sight of the dead body, and this address, aroused the people to whom it was delivered. They instantly rushed off to attack the Swiss guard-house at the end of the Rue Richelieu; and, out of 300 men stationed there, twenty only escaped death. The houses about this place have marks of the balls in every part. I made many excursions from Galignani's during the day, and never without seeing something indicative of warfare. We returned home about five o'clock, and about seven went to the quay. On the opposite side of the river, near the Louvre, were the King's troops, and on our quay were the citizens and National Guard. They were loading, firing, and falling. That more have not been killed has astonished me; for artillery was playing the whole time. I left this place about eight o'clock, and retired to bed at ten; and the cannonade continued all night.

The next morning, Thursday, I saw but little change in the positions. The troops were nearer to the entrance of the Louvre, and the National Guard and the people farther down the quay, showing that the latter had gained some ground. It was here that the military made their last stand. They were

beaten into the Louvre. It was stormed, and the National Guard became masters of France.

When we heard that the citizens were conquerors, we became anxious as to the fate of the foreigners in Paris, and went to Galignani's. In every direction were the citizens discharging fire-arms, shouting "Vive la Charte!" and forcing every one they met to do the same. We of course joined in the shout. The first thing we beheld on crossing the bridge, on the other side, was a heap of bodies from yesterday's firing. We hastened from the sight, but only to witness similar scenes at every turn. One heap in particular attracted my attention. It was a small one—All the faces were upwards, and covered with blood: on the summit was a youth of about sixteen, beautiful in face and with a skin like snow—he appeared asleep—in one hand was the remnant of some paper which he had used perhaps for wadding. I could hardly persuade myself that he was dead; he lay so calm. We hastened on and lost ourselves in endeavouring to find Galignani's. On entering a street, we came upon a single body of tremendous size; I knew it at once—it was the man that fell in the contest of Tuesday from the first fire. We then discovered where we were. At Galignani's they said a siege was threatened, and that the English were in great odium with the French. The tri-colored cockade was at this time worn by every body, and of course by me. On our return home we found the Place du Carousel, which is the square of the Tuilleries, occupied by the National Guard, who were then refreshing themselves. Many hundreds had neither taken food nor tasted drink for six and thirty hours, and this in such scorching weather as I never before endured. We hastened to the Champs Elysées, but every gate was occupied by citizens of the National Guard reeking from victory, and animated with draughts of wine, which they were obliged to take unmixed to slake their thirst: water could not be obtained to mix with it. I presented myself boldly at one of the gates: it opened; I entered, and my friend followed. We made for the other gate, not doubting but that we could depart as easily as we entered. What was our horror to find that every person that presented himself was searched! I had about me our passports, a letter to you giving some account of affairs here, and some letters of introduction which I had not yet delivered. My friend had also letters of introduction to an officer of the Royal Guard, which would have been sufficient to seal our warrant, even could we have spoken to them in French. To retreat was impossible; I therefore assumed a bold ap-

pearance. One of the searchers was in a state of intoxication. In his hands at that moment was an old man with a small vessel of earthen-ware containing sugar; this was dashed to the ground, after ascertaining that no paper was concealed in it. In a side pocket he had some printed papers which the searcher paused to examine. Whilst engaged in this work, a person came up briskly and demanded instant egress. He was known, and the gate immediately opened. I pushed after him, and was stopped. The searcher of the sugar vessel pulled open my coat, took off my hat, pressed his hands down my sides, and finally suffered me to pass. My friend followed, and thus we got free:—he forgot to examine our hind pockets.

In looking at all this extraordinary business, I know not whether more to admire the determination and bravery of the people, or the extreme mildness with which they have used their victory. People goaded to resistance by arbitrary power, and maddened by the loss of comrades, friends, and relatives in the struggle, were likely to commit excesses, while their excitation lasted. These high-spirited men, who risked their lives for liberty, showed that they wanted no more than they claimed—they avenged themselves, without revenge against their enemies.

We came to Paris for recreation, and in a week saw the breaking out and termination of a mighty revolution. On the Monday following the shops were open, people at their usual business, and gaiety, 'though with a subdued mien,' presiding in the public walks. The barriers in the streets are now mostly displaced, and the lamps are restored.

I went on Sunday to view the place where some thousands of the citizens who fell on the three days are interred. Where the pit was dug it is enclosed by a railing. Flowers are suspended around, and there is intimation that subscriptions will be accepted for the widows and children of the deceased, and for the wounded.

On the day of the victory, when all was over, the National Guard marched to the Bourse; they were well armed, and a young girl, about seventeen years of age, and very handsome, was carried in triumph. She fought like a man—a second Joan of Arc—the whole time.

ANOTHER LETTER.

MR. PHILIP TAYLOR, formerly of Norwich, and long settled in the neighbourhood of Paris, writes as follows to his brother, Mr. Richard Taylor, of London, a gentleman well known as a learned printer, and a resolute

asserter and defender of the principles of civil and religious liberty.

Grenelle, Paris, August 9th. 1830.

My dear R.

On my return from Paris this evening, I found your letter of the 6th instant. I wrote to my nephew, J. E. T., on Friday the 30th of July, while bullets were still whistling over our heads, and while with my telescope I could see the *tri-colored* flag on Notre Dame, and the *white one* on the Palace of St. Cloud. Expecting the Post would be interrupted, I took this letter to the English Ambassador's and enclosed it in a cover to J. We are all quite safe and well; but you must have been anxious about us. The incessant roar of guns, the distant shouts, the tocsin, and the very sight of men nobly fighting in so sacred a cause, gave rise to feelings which you may in some faint degree imagine. I was much out of humor with the clogs which prevented my lending a hand. Never was a righteous end more righteously obtained! The praises bestowed on the people in the newspapers are not more than they richly deserve. In a letter which I wrote to my nephew, just after the elections, I said that these people *knew* their rights and *would defend them*. I told him that the French army, that is, the *line*, could not be depended upon in any attack on the people. I never doubted as to the result, if such a conflict was commenced; but I certainly *did not* calculate on such wicked fools as those who brought all this about. I have often expressed to you my opinion as to the sobriety, prudence, and honesty of the lower classes in France; but I did not expect to see the most undaunted valor united with such moderation and forbearance. I myself have seen what by some would be called the *rabble* performing acts of the most generous kindness even to the Swiss who had been firing incessantly on them! The instant they struck the banners of despotism, every angry feeling seemed to vanish. The last body of troops were driven from l'Ecole Militaire. I was among them, and the people, on the plain of Grenelle. They were dreadfully cut up and exhausted. Wine and food were liberally given to them while their arms remained in their hands. During this conflict every sort of restraint was at an end, yet was every description of property most religiously respected. After the fight was won, I had a multitude of poor fellows all around me in the Champ de Mars, &c., absolutely in want of food. I expected they would come and help themselves in my potato field, which was open to them.—Nothing was touched—and, when I and my

man dug up a load and sent to them, a person instantly begged my name, and put it down, stating the gift. Those who bore the brunt of the battle were chiefly the working men, and a vast proportion of these were little more than boys. Still they all appeared to know and feel *why* they ought to fight. It was not for the sake of a row, nor had personal animosity any thing to do with it. All appeared anxious to give their lives for their country.

I have always been the friend of the working classes in England as far as I had power of being so, and I do ardently wish that they could be deeply impressed by the example lately set them by the same class in France. As to bravery and intelligence, I have no doubt of their being equal; but it is the independence and manliness of character which they should admire and imitate. It is *this* which makes the lower orders in France prudent, honest, and civil. This glorious battle was fought during three of the hottest days I ever remember. The quays were covered with casks of wine and brandy; none was pillaged, nor did I see a drunken man during the fray. They certainly have triumphed most gloriously, and they appear delighted with their victory: still they can enjoy all this without getting drunk and making a tumult. This has been such a *Cleansing Week** as no Norwich man ever before witnessed; but, alas! as a Norwich man, I feel mortified when I remember that in a mere Ward election I have seen more that was disgraceful, both in battle and triumph, than has here taken place in turning out a King and all his vile crew.

I believe the working classes in England are more to be pitied than blamed. They are generally treated like an inferior race of animals by the rich; for *mere money* in England produces the vilest of all aristocratical feelings and conduct. These are most naturally met by either servility or brutality. If this haughty feeling on the part of the rich were in a degree neutralized by an equal degree of virtue and honesty, there might be something to say for it: but look at the English newspapers; they are filled with examples of infamy in the higher classes. Let us remember that there is scarcely a parish in Great Britain in which you may not find an unprincipled lawyer, ready to put all the infernal machinery of English law in motion, for the service of any rogue who can pay him. Look to Poor laws! Game laws! and Excise laws! which are enforced by petty tyrants called Squires, or, worse, by

men who are called Ministers of the Gospel. I don't wonder that the poor are reckless in England;—the more they are enlightened, the more will they feel indignant; and it is natural that they should be ferocious. All these evils were put an end to by the former revolution in France, and what has been the consequence? The regeneration of the national character, or rather the creation of a people virtuous enough to overthrow a bad government, and wise enough to form a good one, with the least possible quantity of tumult or suffering. It is folly to say they might have done all this in 1789;—it was impossible, the materials were not fit for the work. Nor *could* such a change as this recent one in France be effected in England. The very state of society is a bar to such a change. You must go on quietly getting what you can, and you can aim at no object more important than Election by Ballot. Look at the present Chamber of Deputies, actually elected during the reign of Charles X., who with his wicked Ministers did all they could to trick, awe, and bribe the voters. Yet this present Chamber has the full confidence of the people, and is equally well suited to the present order of things. The only change required is an extension of the right of voting, which will be made. That accursed contrivance to destroy both religion and good government, by the union of Church and State, is at an end. There will no longer exist a political religion to disgust men with the very name; and the true spirit of religion will soon find its place in the minds of the people.

As the newspapers have given you full details as to what has been done, and is doing, I have not thought it necessary to repeat them. I saw Louis Philippe I. go to the Chamber; he is a fine hearty fellow. I saw that man of men the good old General, yesterday. Oh, he looks so happy! What a delightful finish to a long and well-spent life!

I am glad to see that you have started a subscription among the working classes. Nothing is more important for the peace and welfare of both countries than a friendly feeling, and nothing will do more to bring this about than the very thing you propose. The *number* of subscribers is far more important than the *sum* subscribed; I almost wish a portion of this money could be employed in placing some lasting memorial of the English feeling on this occasion. I shall call on La Fayette in a few days. I believe he is as anxious for peace abroad as for good government at home, and this sentiment is general.

Let me hear how this subscription goes on; and, if I can do any thing here, set me to

* A name given to the week appointed for the annual election of the Common Council.

work. We are all quite well. All the young ones are in high go. The boys came home on Saturday with their colors mounted. S. is playing La Marseillaise, and E. acts the whole Garde Nationale. All is perfectly tranquil; the streets are repaving, and everything looks as gay and busy as if nothing had happened. No one of my acquaintance has suffered in any way. Public credit stands higher than ever. The exchange with England is almost at par.

I am glad to hear that the B. & W. cock-

ade has triumphed in Norwich. I remember wearing the tri-color there nearly forty years ago.—May nothing soil this glorious badge of liberty! Send me if you can the *music* of "Fall, Tyrants, fall!" O, how I wish you and E. had come here, just for the revolution! You might have seen the whole performance in a week. He must come and see us. This France will be a better country than ever to live in. Believe me

Your affectionate Brother,

P.

FRIDAY, JULY 30.

The *Moniteur*, in the absence of an acknowledged government, was not published yesterday. This morning it appeared, bearing the dates of the 29th and 30th of July. The following official article constituted its entire contents:—

"PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

"The Deputies present at Paris have found it necessary to assemble to remedy the serious dangers which threatened the security of persons and property. A commission has been appointed to watch over the interests of all, in the entire absence of a regular organization.

"Messrs. Audry de Puiraveau, Comte Gerard, Jacques Lafitte, Comte de Lobau, Manguin, Odier, Casimir Perrier, and De Schonen, compose this Commission.

"General Lafayette is Commander-in-chief of the National Guard.

"The National Guard are masters of Paris at all points."

At two o'clock in the morning the mails with yesterday's letters were despatched under the protection of the National Guard. The carriages were at the barriers, and the bags were conveyed to them.

Not a soldier was to be seen in Paris, excepting those of the line, who had refused to fire. Yesterday evening the division of General Bourdesouille appeared at the iron gate of the avenue to Paris, desiring permission to re-enter Versailles, in order to return to its quarters; but the National Guards informed the General that his troops must not return into the city unless they laid down their arms, and that if they used force they would be resisted. The General did not venture an attack; his troops bivouacked on the road, and this morning, after some parleying, an arrangement was made, and the

whole division entered amidst cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" This division was composed of a battalion of the gens-d'armes of Paris, both horse and foot; of a regiment of grenadiers, on horseback; of a company of horse artillery; and a regiment of cuirassiers.

The furious and deadly struggle of yesterday had decided the question between Charles X. and the people; and they reposed in security. This morning there prevailed a perfect calm and stillness throughout the city. Until a late hour the combatants for liberty were reposing from fatigue and exhaustion. Some who lived in distant quarters, and had been too wearied to reach their humble homes, threw themselves into recesses or any places they could find convenient for rest. At noon, on the stalls of the Palais Royal, there were young men lying apparently dead, without their coats, with their muskets across their breasts; they were buried in profound sleep. It was a delicious morning—as warm as during the three days, when the glass, with little variation, was at 86°.

Orders had been given the evening before for military rations of provisions, and by noon 60,000 rations of bread were ready to be distributed to the national volunteers, who had left their work to fight for the "good old cause." This precaution, in their behalf, was prudent and just. They were workmen who had been paid their wages on the Saturday, most of which had been exhausted by claims the same evening; and, probably, little was left on Monday for themselves or their families, since when they had earned nothing but laurels.

The markets to day were well supplied with provisions, which were sold with the same security as usual. The vehicles which brought provisions from the environs of Paris

remained at the barriers, because the streets were barricaded and otherwise impassable. The dealers went and fetched their supplies in baskets.

To succor the wounded, and dispose of the killed, were immediate cares. The dead were buried in the streets, markets, and other convenient spots. The number that perished in the Louvre was great. Eighty were borne to a spot opposite the eastern gate, and buried with military honors. Those that fell near the Seine were stripped and tied in sacks, put on board lighters, carried down the Seine, and interred in the *Champ de Mars*. A considerable number, among whom were four Englishmen, were buried in the *Marche des Innocens*. In the *Quartier des Halles* there had been terrible carnage. The inhabitants at the corner of the *Rue de la Cordonnerie* dug a temporary grave, which they ornamented with flowers, laurels, and funeral elegies, in honor of the brave defenders of their country buried in that place.

The Bourse and other public buildings were converted into hospitals, where the wounded were attended by hundreds of ladies; for the men were under arms, or occupied with other important duties. The *Rue Basse des Remparts* was converted, even during the battle, into one large receptacle for the wounded, by extending sheets from the houses to the wall of the Boulevards. At every instant were to be met biers with such of the mutilated defenders of public liberty as could be transported to the hospitals with safety; 1500 of all parties were in the *Hotel Dieu* alone. While each of these unfortunates passed, every man present spontaneously and respectfully took off his hat. The galleries of *Vivienne* and *Colbert* displayed a noble sight. All the merchandise deposited there, the linens, calicoes, &c., were torn up for bandages for the wounded.

At an early hour the following address was widely circulated:—

“ORDE OFFICIAL.

“*Vive la patrie! vive la liberté! vive la Charte! et à bas Charles dix!*”

“*Vive le Duc d'ORLEANS, notre Roi!*”

This paper obtained great attention, because it was printed at the office of the *National*, a journal greatly esteemed by the republicans, and usually deemed their organ. The reflecting men of this party were for the greatest happiness of the greater number; and, being well acquainted with the character of the Duke of Orleans, they were convinced that all the advantages of a commonwealth, which France could enjoy, would be ensured by calling him to fill the vacant throne, upon conditions to be stipulated. The ultra-republicans were fewer in number,

and not so well pleased. They cried, especially in the *Faubourg*, “*Vive la République!*” A few shouted, “*Vive Napoleon II.!*” It was understood that Lafayette and the Deputies of the *Extreme Left*, in the Chamber, had consented, on certain guarantees for public liberty, to support the nomination of the Duke of Orleans. The prospect of this settlement was gratifying to the merchants, tradesmen, and wealthy classes, because it promised security for property. No one spoke of the return of Charles X. His adherents, and the only contenders for succession in his line, were returned emigrants, or their descendants, born with hereditary hatred to freedom; and a band of slave-making priests, who glorified the monarchy, because it assisted them to dazzle the ignorant with the scorching splendor of the church, and obscure the light of the pure and undefiled religion of universal liberty. They were few in number, and desperate in purpose, and, under a disaster that deprived them of their rallying point, and which seemed to portend an end to priest-craft, and kings of the old school, they preserved a wily silence.

The *National* contained an article declaratory of the general feeling, commencing as follows:—

“*Paris, July 30.*”

“After fifteen years of an odious and dishonorable reign, the house of Bourbon is for the second time excluded from the throne. The Chamber of Deputies has this day pronounced this grand resolution, by calling the house of Orleans to the Lieutenant-Generalship of the kingdom.

“This satisfaction was due to the French people, who have endured, during fifteen years, a Government incapable, vexatious, prodigal, and injurious to the country.

“For fifteen years past, France has not been at liberty to pronounce with eulogium the glorious names of the men who delivered her in 1789. The Revolution was held to be an act for which the country was bound to repent, and to ask pardon. France was obliged to apologize for having wished to be free.

“The brave men of the old army were almost compelled to find an excuse for their victories, or were obliged to receive from foreign hands the confirmation of their glory.

“Trade was without protection. Our foreign interests were surrendered to the chances of alliance, calculated according to what was called an interest of dynasty. It is proper to be a friend of all, but it is not well to be weak with respect to any one.

“Our finances were the prey of a frightful

system of waste; our roads in a woeful state of neglect. France, the most civilized nation of Europe, has the worst roads. Our fortresses were all dismantled. The milliard which has been given to the emigrants would have sufficed to put our roads and our fortresses in the best possible condition.

"France was subject to the command of incapable and degenerate Princes, in no way in harmony with the spirit of the nation.

"The throne was destined to pass from a feeble and obstinate father, destitute of all sort of knowledge, to a son without intelligence, and unacquainted with the interests he was to direct.

"The future was as gloomy for France as the present.

"Finally, this deposed family shed oceans of French blood for the cause of usurped power,—that comprehended in the ordinances.

"But punishment was not long delayed. The ordinances subversive of our rights appeared on Monday, and this day, Friday, the forfeiture is pronounced.

"The Chamber felt the necessity of establishing a Government in lieu of that just overthrown. We need a prompt, vigorous, and active organisation. Situated in the centre of Europe, amidst a number of rival powers, we require a firm and stable Government. The Republic, which has so many attractions for generous minds, succeeded ill with us thirty years ago. Exposed to the rivalry of the Generals, it fell under the blows of the first man of genius who tried to make himself its master. What we want is that republic, disguised under a monarchy, by means of representative Government. The Charter, always the Charter, with such modifications as reason and the public interest indicate. In fine, the tri-colors."

The streets were crowded with people of all classes; sentinels of the National Guard regulated the passage through them. The barricades having been opened on each side, the tide of passengers moved forward on the one hand, and those descending the street kept the other. There were no groups, no shouting: not the least disturbance. If a child had known its way, it could have walked from one end of the city to the other, unmolested; if it had strayed, it would have been conveyed to its home. The people, who had been two days fighting, had become the police.

It is a fact sufficient to characterise the glorious revolution which delivered France from an odious and humiliating yoke, that to-day the Bank was guarded in part by the National Guard, and in part by those of the people whom an insolent aristocracy called

canaille. The National Guard were mounted at other public edifices, and at the barriers, where neither exit nor entrance was allowed without an order.

In different quarters of the city, the population endured severe privations. They mostly declined to accept assistance from those who were moved by their destitution. A gentleman on several occasions proffered money to persons who had hardly a shoe to their feet; in one instance only could he prevail upon a poor fellow to accept money. The man was offered five francs; he refused that sum, and consented to take twenty sous, which he said was to buy a few glasses of wine for himself and his comrades, who were ready to drop down in the street.

There were scenes more agreeable, and even ludicrous. Processions of armed men carried bread and other provisions, with exulting and whimsical devices, on the points of their bayonets. Workmen were mounted on the horses of Cuirassiers, and horses of the Guard of Charles X., whom they had defeated yesterday. Boys, almost clothless, wore the plumed hats of officers and generals, and court swords dangled from the sides of porters and kennel-rakers.

Whatever was the character of the Paris populace under the former Revolution, when, emerging from thorough slavery, its passions were suddenly let loose and excited, and suffered to rage uncontrolled, it is certain that its moderation during the last three days of sanguinary conflict is without parallel. The people waged war with desperate determination to conquer; but their vengeance was without ill-blood. They were resolved to destroy the system of oppression, but they did not massacre its instruments. Many of them led off wounded soldiers with as much care as they did each other; and to-day, after the victory had been achieved, they met and mingled with those who had been opposed to them in the onset with high-minded generosity, and even kind feelings.

The 53rd of the line, a fine regiment, upwards of 1000 strong, which had refused to continue in arms against the cause of their country, went to-day to receive its orders from the Provisional Government at the Hotel de Ville. The officers were cheered, and returned the cheers with expressions of good will: the soldiers and the people cordially grasped each other's hands. The 15th had been more hostile: small parties of this regiment walked about this morning with a certain subdued air, characteristic of the disarmed soldier. It was the business of the people to lighten their care: they stopped and talked, and mingled and drank with them, to put them at ease.

Yesterday the Hotel d'Invalides was not summoned, and had not surrendered. This was memorable for having been the first place which the people assaulted, and obtained arms from, in the Revolution of 1789. To-day the white flag of Charles X. was not flying, but it had not mounted the tri-colors. A party of the people, headed by one of the Polytechnic School, was ordered to march there. The Governor refused to surrender it to that force. General Gerard then sent one of his Aides-de-Camp, and after some conversation the gates were opened, and about 600 other persons entered. The arms, consisting of about 300 firelocks and as many pikes, were given up. Several imagined that there was a greater stock, but the Governor answered that all the arms belonging to the hospital had been kept in the Salle d'armes, which had been attacked the day before, and the arms carried away. The answer was satisfactory. Another commander was left, and the tri-colored flag hoisted. When the people were about to depart, the invalids in the Court Yard said "Eh bien, Messieurs, have you hanged our dog of a Governor?"—"No."—"You would have done him no great injustice. He yesterday made us charge the cannon, and the firelocks, to fire upon you in case of your coming to attack the Hospital, but he has given us no such orders to-day, and we have assisted you in entering." The people then, to the number of 800, drew up in order in the Court Royal, and proceeded towards St. Cloud, where the King's troops were posted.

While the conflict was raging in Paris yesterday, and the issue uncertain, some young men, who wished to propagate the impulse beyond the capital, hurried to the communes in the neighbourhood of Paris, and circulated proclamations inviting the citizens to form themselves into national guards. At half past four this morning the tocsin was sounded at Mont Rouge, Vaugirard, Isay, and Vanvres. At Versailles the *général* was beat at eleven, and the guard-house forced to surrender its arms. The National Guard immediately occupied all the posts. Yesterday a squadron of carbineers, which fought with the Parisians before the Hotel de Ville at Paris, arrived at Versailles, so cruelly handled that out of 130 or 150 men it could not count more than forty. Other squadrons, which charged in other quarters of the capital masses of people originally inoffensive, experienced losses in the same proportion. To-day the Duke d'Angoulême distributed money among the defeated troops who fell upon the Parisians, with a promise of more, if they succeeded in re-entering Paris, and the soldiers filled

the public-houses at the neighbouring communes, to which they effected their retreat, eating and drinking away their gratuities.

At the Tuilleries was found the following paper, referring to the services of the military :—

"TO THE ROYAL GUARD.

"His Majesty orders the Duke of Ragusa to inform the troops of the line of his entire satisfaction at their good conduct during the last two days ; and orders that they shall receive one month and a half's pay."

It was ascertained that the soldiers of the Royal Guard had already received, from the Royal Treasury, thirty francs a man, in order to induce them to fire upon the people. The soldiers of the 5th regiment of the line declared that they were promised five-and-twenty, but had only received ten francs a man.

The retreat of the troops did not engender security. General Gerard posted strong detachments along the road towards St. Cloud, where there still remained the King, the Duke d'Angoulême, and several Ministers. All the heights, were guarded by the king's soldiers, to prevent surprise from Paris. Some little skirmishing took place between the videttes of the people and the troops which commanded the bridges of Sevres and St. Cloud.

At St. Cloud the king reviewed the troops and harangued them ; but the soldiers were silent as the grave. The officers informed him that they were not to be relied on. He again presented himself to the troops, and told them he should abdicate in favor of the Duke d'Angoulême. This was received with some applause. It is stated that he said, "My ministers have deceived me ! My army has deserted me ! Nothing remains but to remain at St. Cloud." He then informed the troops that both himself and his son would abdicate in favor of the "young Duke of Bourdeaux, provided the Duke of Orleans would be Regent for him !" This proposition was received with coolness ; some cried "*Vive le Duc de Bourdeaux*," most of them shouted "*Vive la Charte !*" "*Vive la Liberté !*" During the issuing of the ordinances, and the commencement of the conflict, the Duchess of Angoulême had been at the baths of Vichy. On Tuesday she had gone to the theatre at Dijon, and was received with cries of "*Vive la Charte !*"—" *Vive les 221.*" To day, she was informed of the defeat of the military yesterday, and proceeded incognito in a close carriage to St. Cloud. It is said that she reproached the king for the ordinances and the attempt to enforce them by military execution, but this is doubtful. Yet



GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

her opportunities of knowing, and her capacity for judging of the people and the troops, were greater than the king's. In the afternoon Charles was walking melancholy and pensive with the Duchess of Berri and a nobleman of the court. "I have but one resource left," said Charles X.; "it is—let our troops make a last effort." The Duchess of Berri threw herself at his feet to dissuade him from this foolish idea. "But what can I do?" said the King. "Send to the Duke of Orleans," replied the courtier. Charles X. had sent the day before to arrest the Duke. To the very last moment he believed that force could subdue the feeling at Paris, and render him master of the capital.

The appointment of General Lafayette to the command of the National Guard had the happiest effect. Forty years before, at the beginning of the former Revolution, he had called out and organized that national and constitutional force for the preservation of the public safety. Under the Republic he laid down his hereditary title of Marquis, and never resumed it. He was exiled and proscribed by factions of his native land, and endured years of rigorous imprisonment in the dungeons of foreign tyranny. He refused to aid despotism whether under Napoleon or

the Bourbons. He rejected place, command, honors, and titles, whether offered to him by usurped or right-divine royalty. Loving liberty above all things, this pre-eminent patriot had reaped a rich harvest of its principles in America, carefully cultured the seeds in France, and lived to see them take root. As the undeviating and undaunted champion of freedom, the people now hoped for his assistance in preserving the fruit of his labors. The public safety was committed to his keeping as Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard. His name and fame electrified the disbanded individuals of this civic body; they rallied and resumed their arms, and to-day Lafayette was at the head of 80,000 enrolled citizens and tradesmen of Paris, as its National Guard.

To day the first care of the Provisional Government and the authorities in Paris was to maintain order. The venerable and good Lafayette indefatigably engaged himself to that end, and commenced by issuing the following

"ORDER OF THE DAY, JULY 30.

"Let the means of defence be so organized in each legion, and let communications be established, so that the weakest points may be most strongly guarded. Let a reserve be

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made for such of the legions as are least in danger, and be formed of a moiety of the disposable force, and let the abandoned barracks be as much as possible re-established. Let them be put into relation with the environs, so that no person may be permitted to pass beyond the barriers without a permission from the Commandant-in-Chief, or from the Commission of Government. Let a daily return be made to head-quarters of the numbers of each legion, and the state of the arms and ammunition. The Commandant renews his order to the Commanders of legions for them to send daily an officer with twenty-five men to form the guard at head-quarters. There shall be established at head-quarters a body of twenty-five young men, to be employed in carrying out orders, and who shall be distinguished by a badge on the arm.

"From the Hotel de Ville, this 30th of July. "LAFAYETTE."

The Municipal Commission of Government appointed Baron Louis Minister of Finance. The troops of the Ministers had not time to carry away the public treasure, and this appointment was immediately requisite. M. Bavoux, Deputy for the Department of the Seine, was nominated Prefect of Police. M. Alexander Delaborde was appointed Prefect of the Seine, and he immediately issued the subjoined address.

"DEPARTMENTAL ADMINISTRATION.

"BRAVE INHABITANTS OF PARIS !

"DEAR FELLOW-CITIZENS !—

"The Municipal Commission, by investing me provisionally with the Prefecture of the Seine, has intrusted to me functions at once delightful and difficult to fulfil. Who can flatter himself with being worthy of the rank of first magistrate of a population whose heroic conduct has just saved France, freedom, and civilization—of a population that embraces within its bosom all that is most worthy of distinction in commerce, property, the magistracy, the sciences, and the arts ? But it is you, of whom it is impossible to pronounce an adequate eulogy, or whose interests can be sufficiently promoted. Industrious citizens of every profession !—you whose spontaneous efforts, without a guide, without a plan, have found means to overcome oppression, without polluting victory with one single stain,—you have been found ingenious and sublime in danger, generous and modest in the midst of triumph. Ah ! believe me when I acknowledge that from amongst you I have learnt the full extent of

my duties, by being taught to appreciate the full extent of your sacrifices.

"A detailed report of all the glorious actions of this day, and more particularly of the losses and misfortunes they have occasioned, is in preparation. Already public beneficence is engaged in repairing them. We will not remain behind in zeal.

"Electors of Paris, who, for the third time, have called me by a free exercise of your suffrages to the honor of representing you, may I venture to hope for your continued support in the new functions with which I have just been invested ?

"Inhabitants of the capital,—Your magistrates do not wish to make you feel their presence but by the good they perform. You, on your side, will second their endeavours ; you will add double honor to your triumph, by observing that calmness and order which accords so well with success. Assist us in rendering yourselves happy ; this is the only recompense we will ask for our labors.

"ALEXANDER DELABORDE,
"Provisional Prefect of the Seine.

"Paris, July 30."

A deputation from Charles X. at St. Cloud arrived at the Hotel de Ville, early in the morning. It consisted of the Marquis de Pastoret, Chancellor of France ; M. Semonville, Grand Referendary ; and Count d'Agout, Peer of France. They announced that Charles X. had named the Duke de Mortemart President of the Council, and that he had declared himself willing to accept a Ministry chosen by him.

At eleven o'clock the Deputies and Peers then in Paris, assembled in their respective halls and established regular communications with each other. The Duke de Mortemart was introduced to the Chamber of Deputies, and delivered four ordinances signed yesterday by Charles X. One of them recalled the fatal ordinances of the 25th ; another convoked the Chambers on the 3d ; the third appointed the Duke de Mortemart President of the Council ; and the fourth appointed Count Gerard Minister of War, and M. Cassimir Perrier Minister of Finance. The reading of these ordinances was listened to with the greatest attention. At the termination the profound silence continued ;—no observation was made—the Deputies passed to other business. The Duke de Mortemart returned to acquaint his master that he was no longer acknowledged as King of France. The manner

wherein the Duke and his communications were received by the Deputies, was an announcement that Charles X. had ceased to reign.

In the course of their proceedings a petition was addressed to the Deputies which terminated thus :—

“ On the 5th of July, 1815, the Chamber of Representatives, under the fire of a foreign enemy, in the presence of hostile bayonets, proclaimed principles conservatory of the rights of citizens, and protested against every act which was calculated to impose upon France a Government and institutions which were not in sympathy with its wishes and interests.

“ These are the principles which we ought to adopt at present. Let them serve as a rallying point. The Chamber of 1815 bequeathed them to a futurity which now belongs to us. Let us enter into the enjoyment of that inheritance, and turn it to the advantage of the people and liberty.

“ The members of a committee, named by a great number of the different arrondissements of Paris, meeting in the Rue de Richelieu, No. 47.

“ Paris, July 30.

(Signed) “CHEVALIER, President.”

The following are the guarantees which the Representative Chamber, during the Hundred Days, called upon Napoleon to ratify, and to which allusion is made in the above petition :—The liberty of the citizens—the equality of civil and political rights—the liberty of the press—liberty of worship—the representative system—the free consent of the people to the conscription and the taxes—the responsibility of Ministers—the irrevocability of all sales of national property of every description—the inviolability of property—the abolition of tithes, of the ancient and the newly hereditary nobility, and of feudalism—the abolition of confiscation of property—the entire oblivion of all political opinions and movements up to that day—the institution of the Legion of Honor—compensation to officers and soldiers—institution of jury—judges for life—and the payment of the public debt.

A Commission of Deputies appointed to confer for the public safety with the Peers, assembled in their chamber. The Commission of Deputies returned at nine o'clock in the evening to give an account of their mission. The Peers had unanimously declared that there was no other hope of safety but the intervention of the Duke of Orleans, and were of opinion that he should be asked to assume

the government, in the character of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. The Deputies no longer hesitated, and hastened to devise measures for calling in the Duke of Orleans immediately.

To day Sevres, from the commencement of the park of St. Cloud to the bridge, was occupied by battalions of the Royal Guard, of the artillery, and of the Swiss regiments. Two pieces of cannon were planted on the road to Versailles, and two others towards Paris. The Duc d'Angoulême on horseback, accompanied by two superior officers of the Garde du Corps, walking on foot by the side of his horse, and followed by seven or eight Gardes du Corps, passed through the midst of the troops. The Swiss alone received him with cries of “Vive le Roi!” Throughout the afternoon the Swiss were going towards Neuilly, throwing away their arms, expressing the most poignant regret at having fought, and vowing that they would never fight again for the same cause. In the morning and afternoon addresses to the soldiers, from the provisional government, were every where circulated, inviting them to join the people; and great numbers came into Paris unarmed. In the afternoon a deputation of officers of the line and pupils of the Polytechnic School waited on the officers of the Guard, inviting their services to the Provisional Government. They answered that they were resolved not to bear arms against their fellow-citizens: that they conceived themselves bound to respect oaths which prevented them from joining their brother officers in Paris; but they hoped soon to see themselves free.

Not a hand was lifted up, nor a word uttered, in behalf of Charles X., during the last three days or to-day. In the course of the morning many remaining emblems of his reign were removed or effaced, but not a single insult or term of offence was offered to the few who had been notoriously loyal to his lawless power, and were justly suspected of desiring his restoration, or the restoration of what was called the monarchy in the person of any of his line. Those who had the esteem of the people, and appeared in public, were hailed with enthusiastic cheers. Benjamin Constant, a consistent and firm friend to freedom, was so recognized at the Bourse, and others were distinguished by the people; but he whom they most delighted to honor, and who most deserved their gratitude, was La Fayette, and they loudly testified their affection as often as they saw him.

The victory was achieved yesterday, and
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celebrated to-day by respect for order. Already measures were taken for repairing the streets, and most shops were opened. There was no appearance of a recent—a mighty Revolution, but of some great deliverance having been effected. The people wore the tri-colored cockade, and their countenance, expressed satisfaction and happiness, rather than tumultuous joy. The Provisional Government recommended that at night, in the absence of the usual lamps, lights should be placed in the windows. The illumination was general; it tended to the preservation of order, and was the only demonstration of public rejoicing. Along the quays and streets the female inhabitants were seated in groups,

preparing bandages and lint for the wounded. The passages (arcades) afforded striking instances of this benevolent disposition. All the milliners, and their shopwomen and workwomen, were sitting outside their shops (because those being closed afforded no light), busily engaged in making lint.

An estafet of the king's, disguised in a smock frock, was stopped and conducted to the Hotel de Ville. His despatches, addressed to Vincennes, were delivered to the Provisional Government.

In the evening the mails were forwarded at the usual hour.

SATURDAY, JULY 31.

THE PRESS to-day, by means of the Journals, actively discussed and suggested different forms of future government. There was no proposition for replacing Charles X. or calling either the Duke of Angouleme or the Duke of Bourdeaux to the throne. That line of the Bourbon family was hateful to every constitutional ear. The *Messenger des Chambres* said, "Let us trust to history. It shows us that in England the substitution of the patriotic William for the hypocritical Stuarts secured both liberty and order. Every thing was easy for the cause of the laws. Blood ceased to flow, resistance became impossible, and Europe and Foreign Powers opened their negociations and treaties with England after it was regenerated."

In a nation which had been distracted forty years by despotisms of all kinds, and with successions of convulsive misrule under all denominations of government, there were philosophical theorists, and contenders for theories utterly inapplicable at the moment, and even adherents to one who in the name of liberty, shackled freedom. Some desired a republic and nothing but a republic: a few desired nothing more than Napoleon II.,—a boy with a regency!—to settle and to govern France. The general disposition was for a government that ensured freedom to all, and this desire was well expressed in a Journal of to-day. The following is an extract.

(From the French *Globe*.)

"All compromise is now impracticable. Some good meaning men have tried to bring it about, but without success. Even were an amnesty of certain acts just and moral, they could not be forgotten: a barrier of blood would rise between the King and the people.

Imagine a King guilty and humiliated, stained with French blood, and conquered—a King at once odious and degraded! No, no, he must depart,—he must bid an eternal adieu to France.—The throne being vacant, a great question presents itself,—viz., what will be the government of France? Only two forms of government are possible—a republic and a monarchy.

"The republic has but one fault, which is that it is not deemed possible in France. Perhaps it may one day become possible,—perhaps it is the definitive government to which all nations are advancing, but its time has not yet come. The heroes of the few last days exclaimed *Vive la Charte!* What was meant by that cry, which inspired such noble conduct? May the Charter, developed and amended by victory, prove an equivalent for the republic.—Supposing this point decided, the next question is, to whom shall the throne be given?"

"The name of the Duke of Orleans presents itself. The necessity of speedily establishing a government is universally felt. The Duke of Orleans is among us, and his situation is such that he may be the means of pacifying France, and saving us from the hostility of the rest of Europe.—He has as yet neither popularity nor power on his side. This is an advantage; for he cannot presume to dictate conditions to us, and must accept ours.

"These are circumstances which may turn the scale in his favor; but far more important than all this, are the constitutional stipulations which would precede his accession to the throne. These must be thought of before every thing, and their consideration will be the first duty of the Chamber of Deputies as soon as it shall be formed!"

These expressions represented the feelings and opinions that prevailed in Paris. Last night M. Lafitte, and the other deputies assembled at his house, sent an express to the Duke of Orleans at Neuilly, summoning him to Paris for the purpose of taking upon him the duties of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Charles X. and his advisers at St. Cloud had deemed it probable that the Duke of Orleans might be a rallying point in opposition to the court, and, while the deputies were arranging for his reception in Paris, the king ordered a body of troops to arrest him at Neuilly. He had already left that place: this was reported to the king, and he, who had lost a throne by ordinances, issued an ordinance outlawing the duke, and authorizing his "subjects" to slay him! The imbecile king had abjects—but no subjects.

In the course of the night the Duke of Orleans arrived in Paris: he wore the national tri-colors. Early in the morning the committee appointed by the deputies waited upon him, and represented that extreme danger would arise from delay; that agitators as well as sincere enthusiasts would proclaim a republic in the streets; and that the fruit of so just and dear a victory would become the prey of a most frightful anarchy. Two hours afterwards appeared the following

PROCLAMATION OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

Paris, July 31, Noon.

"INHABITANTS OF PARIS,—

"The Deputies of France, at this moment assembled at Paris, have expressed to me the desire that I should repair to this capital to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

"I have not hesitated to come and share your dangers, to place myself in the midst of your heroic population, and to exert all my efforts to preserve you from the calamities of civil war and of anarchy.

"On returning to the city of Paris, I wore with pride those glorious colors which you have resumed, and which I myself long wore.

"The Chambers are going to assemble; they will consider of the means of securing the reign of the laws, and the maintenance of the rights of the nation.

"The Charter will henceforward be a truth.

"LOUIS-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

The appearance of this proclamation was hailed by the majority with transport and gratitude; but it was soon understood that, on the preceding evening, a number of persons, excited by the success of the battles in which they had been engaged, and fired by

natural resentment, had declared their distrust of both branches of the House of Bourbon, and exhorted General Lafayette to become the President of at least a Provisional Government. This portion of the populace overpowered by clamor the rest of the public, who were silent and willing to concur in measures that might be adopted by the Deputies.

At one o'clock the Deputies assembled in greater numbers than before at M. Lafitte's. The principal object of the meeting was to hear the report of the committee charged to carry to the Duke of Orleans a declaration agreed to at their last sitting. The President read the Duke's Proclamation. It was received with acclamation, and 10,000 copies were ordered to be printed at the government printing office. Messrs. Guizot, Villemain, Berard, and Benjamin Constant, were appointed secretaries.

General Sebastiani reported, that the committee, of which he was one, went the evening before to the Palais Royal, but the Duke was absent, and they wrote him a note, mentioning the declaration of which they were the bearers. The Duke had hastened to Paris, where he arrived at eleven the same night. The deputation were informed of it in the morning, and assembled at nine o'clock. They were admitted into the presence of the Duke, and his language breathed love of order and the laws—the ardent desire of sparing France the scourge of civil and foreign war—the firm purpose of securing the liberty of the country—and as his Highness had himself said, in a proclamation full of clearness and frankness, the wish to make the Charter, which was long but a delusion, at last a reality. The General added that the Duke was about to take, without delay, the most urgent measures, and especially that of the immediate convocation of the Chambers.

The President said it was necessary to consider the situation of the capital, and whether it would not be advisable that some address should be published, to quiet the minds of the people as to what had been done for the public good, at Paris and in the departments. All had been surprised by the late measures of the ministry, and waited in security for the 3d of August. The letters for their meeting were delivered to the deputies at the same time with the ordinances of the 26th. In such circumstances, it was necessary to tell France what had been done: it would be proper to draw up an accurate account of the means by which the country had been saved. In explaining their acts they would reap a harvest of eternal praise and public blessing.

On the motion of M. Benjamin Delessert, the drawing up of this proclamation was intrusted to the provisional Members of the Bureau. After some discussion M. Salverte desired that this manifesto should indicate in a strong and explicit manner the guarantees which the people had a right to expect. M. de Corceiles insisted on the necessity of these stipulations, in order to calm the effervescence which appeared to him to show itself by alarming symptoms. M. Benjamin Constant said it was indispensable that these guarantees should be enumerated. At the same time, it appeared to him easy to dissipate disquietude. He had passed through the streets of the capital, and had found every where a population full of enthusiasm and energy, but enlightened and full of confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of their Deputies; they wished for guarantees, they wished for them strongly, but they wished for nothing else. He added, that he had thought it his duty to make an enumeration of the guarantees which he thought indispensable, and which the Bureau first, and then the assembled deputies would decide upon. M. Villemain said they had only to make a commentary on the expression in the proclamation of the Duke of Orleans "the Charter shall be a truth."—M. Salverte thought that the declaration of the Chamber of 1815 would be a satisfactory text, and one in which only slight modifications could be made. M. Augustin Perrier observed, that this was not the time for entering into an endless discussion of principles; in the capacity of provisional Secretary M. Benjamin Constant could communicate his ideas to his colleagues, and cause them to be transfused into the proclamation.

The President said the business of the day would naturally open with the report of the Secretaries, when they should submit to the meeting the draught of the proclamation. Among the numerous communications he had received, there were two concerning which he thought it his duty to speak to his colleagues. Both had for their object to call the serious attention of the Deputies to the acts which might emanate from themselves, and to the necessity of calming an effervescence, dangerous in itself, but which he considered as overcome and dissipated, because he relied on the efficacy of the proclamation which the Deputies were about to issue.

The sitting of the Deputies was then for some time suspended, whilst Messrs. Guizot, Villemain, Berard, and Benjamin Constant, in the capacity of Secretaries, drew up the paper for which they had received instructions.

On the Deputies resuming their sitting, the President communicated to the meeting some

information which he had received concerning the proclamation of the Duke of Orleans. According to that account, great agitation prevailed among the people, in consequence, as it was presumed, of the omission of the date, and the want of the countersignature of the Municipal Committee. M. Persil wished the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom to be invited to pass through the capital with a deputation of the Chamber, or to cause the proclamation to be countersigned by General Lafayette. M. Jacqueminot thought the first expedient quicker and more certain, and suggested that his Royal Highness should get immediately on horseback, and show himself to the people. M. de Laborde conceived that the effervescence and disquietude were exaggerated; in his opinion it would be sufficient that the Deputies, after the sitting, should repair to the Palais Royal. There was a prevailing cry among the Deputies, "Let us go immediately; let us all go," and M. Bernard thought M. de Laborde had been wrong informed. He said the greatest alarm agitated men's minds; the most disquieting rumors were in circulation, especially about the Hotel de Ville. Many Deputies cried, "Let us go, let us go." The president calmed the meeting by saying—"No precipitation in such grave circumstances." M. Etienne represented in a strong light the absolute necessity of an immediate and decisive step. M. Charles Dupin thought that the Deputies could proceed to the Hotel de Ville after going to the Palais Royal, and that their presence and exhortations would be sufficient to silence dissension and dissipate alarm. M. Benjamin Delessert conceived that the proclamation which the Bureau had drawn up was of a nature to exercise the happiest influence on the public mind. M. Guizot by desire of the Deputies mounted the tribune, and read the following—

"PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED TO THE FRENCH BY THE DEPUTIES OF DEPARTMENTS ASSEMBLED AT PARIS.

"FRENCHMEN I—

"France is free. Absolute power raised its standard—the heroic population of Paris has overthrown it. Paris attacked, has made the sacred cause triumph by arms which had triumphed in vain in the elections. A power which usurped our rights, and disturbed our repose, threatened at once liberty and order. We return to the possession of order and liberty. There is no more fear for acquired rights—no more barrier between us and the rights which we still want. A government which may, without delay, secure to us these advantages is now the first want of our coun-

try. Frenchmen, those of your Deputies who are already at Paris have assembled; and, till the Chambers can regularly intervene, they have invited a Frenchman who has never fought but for France—the Duke of Orleans—to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. This is in their opinion the surest means promptly to accomplish by peace the success of the most legitimate defence.

“The Duke of Orleans is devoted to the national and constitutional cause. He has always defended its interests, and professed its principles. He will respect our rights; for he will derive his own from us. We shall secure to ourselves by laws all the guarantees necessary to liberty strong and durable—viz.

“The re-establishment of the National Guard, with the intervention of the National Guards in the choice of the officers:

“The intervention of the citizens in the formation of the departmental and municipal administrations:

“The jury for the transgressions of the press; the legally organized responsibility of the Ministers and the secondary agents of the administration:

“The situation of the military legally secured:

“The re-election of deputies appointed to public offices we shall give at length to our institutions, in concert with the head of the State, the developments of which they have need.

“Frenchmen,—The Duke of Orleans himself has already spoken, and his language is that which is suitable to a free country.

“‘The Chambers,’ says he, ‘are going to assemble; they will consider of means to insure the reign of the laws and the maintenance of the rights of the nation. The Charter will henceforward be a truth.’”

The reading of this manifesto was often interrupted by unanimous acclamations, and at the termination M. Girod de l’Ain demanded that, if the proclamation were adopted, it should be instantly sent to the press, circulated in thousands of copies, and that it should be carried to the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. This was ordered, and the draught of the proclamation put to the vote, and passed with enthusiasm. It was then proposed to rise and go in a body to the Palais Royal. The President observed that all the Deputies, and himself among the rest, could not go there, as the state of his health did not allow it. Several voices cried, “Let us go, all!”—“Yes, all!”—“Our President at our head!”—“Let him come in a sedan.” M. Benjamin Constant observed—“It was in that way that I came.” President—“Very

well, be it so. I shall open the march, and M. Benjamin Constant will close it.” The sitting closed with these easy pleasantries, and the Deputies left the hall together. On their way to the Palais Royal the Deputies passed through immense crowds, and were greeted with tumultuous applause. This first appearance of a public authority, in the midst of disorder, brought with it hope and security.

Before the Deputies the barricades fell. At the Palais Royal the Duke of Orleans received them with extreme affability, and with expressions which produced a marked effect on every one. It was a happy meeting, in which a glorious contract was about to be concluded between a free people, and a Prince the friend of Liberty. The manner in which he addressed M. Lafitte, the President, added still more to the joy excited by the dignified language of the assembly and the people whom they represented. M. Lafitte read the Proclamation of the Deputies. The Duke listened attentively, and seemed to punctuate it by the marks of assent with which he noted each of the guarantees stipulating for the rights of the nation, and the maintenance and development of its liberties. His words, his gestures, and his physiognomy contended in expressing satisfaction and pride on being associated in the regeneration of constitutional order. To a speech by M. Viennet, in the name of the Deputies, the Duke answered, “I deplore as a Frenchman the injury done to my country, and the blood which has flowed. As a Prince, I am happy to contribute to the happiness of the nation. Gentlemen, we are about to go to the Hotel de Ville.” The Duke had been going thither on horseback, and alone, when the Deputies arrived at the Palais Royal.

The passage of the Deputies and the Duke of Orleans to the Hotel de Ville was long and wearisome, across barricades, and in the scorching heat of the sun. The people were in immense multitudes, and, for nearly two hours, during which time the procession was in motion, were constantly acclaiming, with shouts of “*Vive la Charte!*”—“*Vive la liberté!*”—“*Vive le Duc d’Orléans!*” On arriving at the Hotel de Ville, General Lafayette, as Commander-in-chief of the National Guard, attended by the pupils of the Polytechnic School, advanced to meet the Duke of Orleans in the great hall of arms. A circle was formed, and the deputy M. Viennet pronounced an address full of frankness. The Duke replied with simplicity. He mentioned all the guarantees which ought to be granted to the country, and on this enumeration the venerable countenance of Lafayette beamed with joy; his hand approached that of the

Duke, and he grasped it heartily. They went to a window and waved between them a tri-colored flag. By this movement the people were excited to indescribable enthusiasm, and they testified their joy by tremendous vociferations.

During these proceedings in Paris the incidents at St. Cloud were of a different order. Until this morning Charles X. had deluded himself by believing that Paris could be recaptured. Last night a large body of citizens who had assisted in defeating the Royal Guard, and driving them and the other troops from the Tuilleries and heart of the metropolis, determined that he should not remain another day undisturbed at St. Cloud. Under the direction of three youths of the Polytechnic School, they made preparations for an early march and assault. But Sevres was fortified, and the military occupied Meudon and other heights in the vicinity of the king. No considerable number of these could be prevailed on to attempt achieving "the downfall of Paris." News speedily arrived that Paris itself was preparing to send forth its legions to attack St. Cloud. Flight—the first, and only successful resort of terrified tyranny—flight, was instantly resolved on. The troops were withdrawn from the heights, and posted around the royal abode. About three o'clock in the morning the troops quartered in the Bois de Boulogne were called in, and at four o'clock the order was given to march. The procession commenced with a squadron of mounted *gens-d'armes*; then came a regiment of hussars, which had arrived on Thursday morning at four o'clock, after they learnt the retreat of the King's troops during the night; next, a brigade of artillery; afterwards, a regiment of the Royal Guard (infantry); then two squadrons of cuirassiers, followed by two brigades of (field) artillery; these were succeeded by the *Garde du Corps* a *Pied* (*Cent Suisses*), and lastly by a company of the *Garde du Corps du Roi*. Immediately afterwards followed the carriages of the King, the Royal Family, and the Ministers and great officers, with two companies of the *Garde du Corps*, and 150 other carriages, containing persons of distinction attached to, or who wished to follow, the royal family. The royal carriages, ten or twelve in number, were, according to etiquette, drawn each by eight horses. A large body of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, closed the procession. With the exception of the 3d regiment, which had been nearly cut to pieces, and the remains of the Lancers, who had so murderously manifested the royalism of their principles, extreme depression was observable in the countenances of all. A great number of officers without soldiers accompanied them.

In Ville d'Array nearly an entire regiment of the line threw down their arms and dispersed. The progress halted at Versailles, by desire of the King, but the towns-people hoisted the tri-colored flag, and would not suffer them to enter. They breakfasted at Trianon and proceeded to Rambouillet. Numbers of the men deserted at every opportunity, in defiance of the firing that was kept up after them while flying.

Immediately after the departure of Charles X. from St. Cloud, M. Collas, Mayor of Boulogne, sent a detachment of the National Guard and firemen to the Palace; and in the presence of two members of the Municipal Council, and of several Officers, an inventory of the plate was drawn up. This plate was afterwards delivered, in the presence of the Mayor of St. Cloud, to M. de Villeneuve, the Commissioner of the Government. When the National Guard with the armed populace from Paris arrived, they found a detachment of the Royal Guards which had been left to protect the retreat. They had been attacked by armed citizens, from the neighbouring communes, and, when the Parisians arrived at day-break, the last remains of Royal power retired, throwing away their muskets, after taking the precaution to break their locks. The National Guards when they entered the palace took care, as they had done at the Tuilleries, to prevent every thing like pillage. But the people visited the wine cellars and larders, and, though no furniture or ornaments were damaged or removed, the wine was drunk, and the preserves eaten, and a few letters and papers which remained were thrown out of the window. The Guards had left their breakfasts uneaten on the tables, and the cooks in the Royal kitchen had fled in such haste that the preparations for the royal *déjeuners* remained on the stoves and fires. About 2000 firelocks of the body-guard were found in the palace. In the route of the National Guard back to Paris they searched the environs of St. Cloud, and collected about 100 Swiss, who laid down their arms and surrendered, on being assured that they should be well treated. They said that the King had reviewed them on the evening before, and had given them thirty francs a piece. Not one of them was deprived of a sous. On their arrival at Paris, they were conducted to the Louvre, where they were ordered to sit down, and wine and victuals were furnished to them. They were then escorted to their barracks, Rue de Babylone, from which, as the only punishment, they were ordered not to come out, lest they should be attacked by the relations of some of their victims.

With the exception of the affair at St.

Cloud there were no hostile movements. The prisoners in la Force attempted to escape but were prevented by the National Guard, who were reluctantly compelled to fire, and two convicts were killed and about a dozen wounded. In the departments, wherever the ordinances and the events at Paris were known, the sentiments of the people had been expressed with the same indignation against the measures of the Court, and the same enthusiasm for the Charter and the liberty of the Press displayed. The following letter from General Bourdesoulle to the Duc d'Angoulême was intercepted :—

"Versailles, July 31.

"Monseigneur,—Your Royal Highness has no doubt received the report which I had the honor to send you this morning, and in which I gave you an account of the passage of a considerable number of soldiers of the 50th regiment of the line through this town, where they were introduced by the inhabitants, without being presented at the gates, but all passed over, and we have been tranquil all night.—As I have received the letter of General Cressot, which announced to me the arrival of the King, I thought it my duty to place the troops under arms, and in a position to execute the orders of your Highness. I am waiting for them. If your Highness orders, I am ready to march where you may think proper. In case your Royal Highness should not order me to make any movement during the day, I shall send the troops to their quarters to rest.—Their spirit is still firm, though some discontent be already manifested in different regiments which are almost without money. It would be very desirable that your Royal Highness should cause some advances to be made, particularly to the 4th regiment of Infantry, and to the gendarmerie, the men of which have only a white pair of trousers, and no shoes.—I have the honor, &c.,

"Lieutenant-General BORDESOLLE."

The King's appearance at Versailles on his flight from St. Cloud, and the spirit prevailing among the inhabitants, convinced Bourdesoulle that he had nothing to hope and every thing to fear, and in the course of the day he made his submission to the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Madame de Polignac in passing through Versailles was recognised and stopped by the people, but permitted to proceed on her journey. "Go on, Madame," they said to her, "but let his Excellency take care!" General Gerard, at the head of the troops of the line, fixed his quarters beyond the Hospital of Invalids, where all stragglers as well as old officers of the army, were directed to join him. In the course of the day, a workman, named John Grenier, presented

himself to the Commandant of the post of the Hotel St. Aignau, and said, "Serjeant, here is my sword. I have employed it well for three days; I now return to my work. It is useless to me, and I make a gift of it to the National Guard." The sabre was richly mounted, and several of the National Guard wished to pay for it; "I do not sell my sword," said he; "I give it:" and he immediately presented it to a grenadier who was without a sword. The inhabitants of the environs emulated each other in enthusiasm and patriotism. There was not a hamlet in which the tri-colored flag had not been flying since yesterday. Every where the National Guards spontaneously organized themselves. Had the capital been threatened, its outposts were under arms. At Corbeil, the National Guard took possession of 120,000lbs of gunpowder at the Vouchet, and immediately sent 9,000lbs. to Paris.

In the course of the night some musket shots were fired against the posts of the National Guard of Paris by several men, some of whom were arrested. The old Royal Police had given them money to excite commotions in the capital. They might have murdered some citizens, and that would have been the utmost mischief they could effect. There is no raising an insurrection against a whole people.

As respects the Municipal Government to-day they had little of real difficulty, though, from the state of affairs, they had much work. The crown diamonds had been carried off. The person who usually had the care of them held a receipt for them, signed by M. de la Bouillerie, who had withdrawn them and then withdrawn himself. He had taken them to the King, by whose order they had been abstracted. It was determined to reclaim, and, if refused, retake them as belonging to the crown, in which its wearer had only a life interest—subject to contingencies. In the course of the day, the Archbishop of Paris attempted to depart from the capital. At the *Te Deum* sung for the capture of Algiers, this mischievous man told Charles X. he hoped God would give his Majesty strength to overcome his enemies at home as well as those whom he had conquered abroad. In his carriage the people found an enormous sum in gold, which they brought away. This money, being the property of the prelate, was ordered to be restored to him.

The municipal committee had to determine what course should be adopted with respect to commercial engagements, which had been embarrassed and obstructed by the late political derangement; and they resolved that

acceptances payable in Paris, and due between the 26th of July and the 15th of August inclusive, should be extended ten days, so that bills falling due on the 26th of July would only be payable on the 6th of August, and so on. Conformably to this regulation, the Tribunal of Commerce, of the department of the Seine, issued an ordinance concurring in the measure, and clearly stating the reasons for its adoption in these terms:—"The tribunal, having deliberated, acknowledges that the defence of our rights and liberties, called forth by the Ordinances of the 25th of July, was legitimate; that the necessity of resisting violence and military force compelled the whole population of Paris to arm themselves; that, the city having been placed in a state of siege, the course of business has been interrupted, the shops and warehouses have been closed, the tribunals have ceased to administer justice; and thus all commercial transactions having been forcibly suspended, and communications interrupted, the payment of bills on the day of their being due has become impracticable; that superior force has interfered; that the necessity of the case is of an imperious kind; and that it authorizes a course which, though deviating from the ordinary rules of trade and the prescription of the laws, insures against effects which would prove injurious to all." By these proceedings of the municipal and legal authorities, all protests and claims relative to commercial bills were likewise, with strict prudence and justice, suspended. The bank of France and nearly all the private bankers opened their counting-houses, and paid and received as usual. The exchange had not been opened since the 27th; for, during the panic, the prices could only have been nominal.

Yesterday several of the clerks in the post-office resumed their duty, and to day the whole of them. In this department there was found a list of forty-five peers whom Charles X. and his ministers proposed to exclude from the Chamber, and not only deprive of their peerage, but bring to trial. During the excitement, there had been seized at the Post-office despatches intended for the ambassadors. These were now delivered to them unopened. The ambassadors were sensible to the attention, and complimented the citizens on their bravery and moderation in victory.

Except M. Count Appony, ambassador of Austria, who opportunely went away on the 25th of July, to take the waters at Dieppe, none of the ambassadors of foreign powers quitted Paris. Witnesses of the per-

fidious conduct of the ex-King, they expected to see civil war break out, but they knew that they should be respected in the midst of disorder, and were enabled to state to their governments that the French, in the exultation and pride of victory, were as calm and prudent as they were brave, and that the tranquillity of Europe was not likely to be disturbed by such a people. The minister plenipotentiary of the United States was among the first diplomatic personages who paid their respects to the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

At his residence, the Palais Royal, the Duke received numberless persons, whom mere royalty would have excluded from its presence. The wife of a citizen had distinguished herself, in this sanguinary contest, by a courage and prowess truly heroic. She never for an instant quitted the side of her husband, and, being armed with a musket, loaded and fired with as much coolness and precision as a veteran soldier. She mainly contributed, by her aid and example, to the capture of a cannon, entered the guard-house at the head of the citizens, and fought hand to hand with the troops till they were finally expelled. Her grateful fellow-citizens were desirous that she should be presented to the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, who at the first intimation directed that she should be introduced. She was accordingly conducted to the Palais Royal between nine and ten o'clock this evening, where the Duke, standing in a circle of the brave youths of the Polytechnic School, received her with the utmost courtesy, and testified his admiration of her prowess in the strongest terms. At her departure the guard on duty received orders to present arms to her on her passing, as if she had been a general officer.

Many who imagined France utterly depraved by the sanguinary scenes of her former revolution, by her long wars and appalling despotisms, now confess their error with exultation, and hope that her present moral elevation may be as secure as her present political grandeur. The sight of public order and respect for property, after three days' battles, and in the absence of all competent authority, inspired every foreigner at Paris with the most lively admiration. The English, in particular, were astonished. They took the deepest interest in the important occurrences to day in the Chamber of Deputies and at the Hotel de Ville.

Circumspection against the chance of surprise stayed the destruction of the barricades. An invader would have found, not only in

the capital but in and near many great towns, the streets unpaved, the roads obstructed, the houses embattled, and obstacles of every conceivable kind. To-day the municipality, as a measure of salubrity during the heats, requested the inhabitants to make gutters in the streets, for carrying off the stagnant water, without endangering the barricades. They were also invited to open their shops and conduct business as formerly, and to light up their windows until the lamps were repaired. More subscriptions were opened for the wounded, the widows, and the fatherless. Families requiring aid received bread and other provisions. The men on duty, in like manner, received bread, cheese, meat, and wine, which different parties paraded through the streets, preceded by a drum.

Since yesterday the streets were crowded to excess with people going about from curiosity: the fair sex almost out-numbered the men. It was amusing to see them, in full dress, skipping over wet trenches and huge paving-stone defences, or creeping through trees laid hastily across the ways. The assemblages of armed people exceeded, in grotesque character, whatever Hogarth ever painted. Charcoal-men with cuirasses on; slender lads with heavy helmets and muskets; a well-dressed man with, possibly, only a pocket pistol, making it a point of honor to place himself in the ranks with them; and the whole directed by the will, perhaps, of an old-fashioned drummer, elated with the importance of his command.

An incident strongly exemplifies the character of things to-day. At about half past eleven at night, the 53d regiment of the line marched with their band playing along the Rue Rivoli. A sentinel stationed at the corner of the Pavilion Marson awaited their arrival. He was one of the captors of the Tuilleries; his age about twenty; his costume a blue linen blouse (precisely the garment worn by the Chinese we see in London), and trousers of the same kind. He had a musket and bayonet, and an ample canvass bag full of cartridges suspended by a stout cord over his shoulder. The regiment approached. With all the gravity of a veteran grenadier he stepped forward, cocked his musket, and challenged the approaching column. The pass was given, the usual forms were gone through, and the regiment marched on, and, with their band playing, entered the Place du Caroussel, to occupy the barrack, lately that of the Garde Royale.

This evening families promenaded much as usual in the boulevards, and harps,

guitars, violins, and other musical instruments once more enlivened a scene always unique in its kind. The only novelties were the absence of lamps (supplied, however, by gay illuminations) and the half-peaceable and half-warlike sight of groupings of females sitting on the trees which had been felled for the purpose of forming blockades. Here, on the first evening of disturbance, a wretched little savoyard, in the midst of war and bustle on his right and left, continued to wind his little organ at his usual post—actually playing, if not to empty benches, to empty chairs.

Until to-day carriages were not allowed to quit Paris. This morning the barriers were thrown open.

The Calais diligence of the Messagerie Royale was the first carriage that left the capital. Several Englishmen availed themselves of this opportunity to depart, and among them Mr. Young, the actor. Along the road, no information, that could be relied on, had been obtained from the capital. At every town and village the inhabitants crowded to the diligence as a novelty. Most of them were astonished on perceiving that the royal arms had been effaced from the panels, and after "Messagerie," the word "Royale," carefully scratched out. These appearances excited enthusiastic shouts. The desire for news was intense, and the enquiries were incessant. The duty of answering usually devolved on the conducteur, whose intelligence was received with rapturous cries of "Vive la Charte!" Even during the night the country people were out awaiting an arrival. After midnight, on the diligence proceeding through Lillers, a village between Amiens and St. Omers, there was an anxious assemblage of people who required the diligence to stop. On the postillion attempting to pass, they seized the wheels, clung to his boots, and insisted on his telling the news. Others opened the doors, and hundreds eagerly demanded news from the passengers, nor would they suffer the vehicle to move until they gained their object, which was by slow degrees; for their expressions of pleasure burst out on the mention of each fact. What Mr. Young had witnessed in Paris, and his thorough knowledge of the French language, enabled him to communicate the news thoroughly; and at one or two places the popular exhilaration it produced, animated him to speeches which were cheered with vociferous shouts of "Vive la Charte!"—"Vive l'Anglais!"—"Vive la Patrie!"

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1.

This was the first Sunday after a week of wonders.

Last Sunday Charles X. had signed arbitrary ordinances; on Monday they were published and denounced by the Press, and he declined to receive a deputation of peers; on Tuesday the Press refused obedience, the people flew to arms, and the King refused to receive a conciliatory deputation from their representatives; on Wednesday he rejected renewed advice from his peers, and his troops were in bloody combat with the people throughout the day; on Thursday his palaces were stormed and taken, and his military defeated and driven out of the capital; on Friday, when all political power was in the hands of the people, and after the Provisional Government had declared that he had ceased to reign, he condescended to announce that he had revoked the ordinances, and was willing to form a new administration; on Saturday he fled, covered with shame and guilt, and the Provisional Government entrusted the lawful power he had abused to the Duke of Orleans. All these astonishing events had happened since last Sunday.

The power of Charles X. was at an end, and the will of France was expressed by the authorities in Paris who had restored order. They issued the following Proclamation:—

“MUNICIPAL COMMISSION OF PARIS.

“Inhabitants of Paris!—Charles X. has ceased to reign in France. Not being able to forget the origin of his authority, he has always considered himself as the enemy of our country and of its liberties, which he could not understand. After having secretly attacked our institutions by every means that hypocrisy and fraud furnished him with, until he believed himself sufficiently strong to destroy them openly, he had resolved to drown them in the blood of Frenchmen. Thanks to your heroism, the crimes of his power are at an end.

“A few moments have been sufficient to annihilate this corrupt Government, which had been nothing but a constant conspiracy against the liberty and prosperity of France. The nation only is stirring, adorned with its national colors, which she has won at the expense of her blood. She wishes for a Government and laws worthy of her.

“What nation in the world deserves liberty better than she does? In the battle you have been heroes.

“Victory has shown us in you those sentiments of moderation and humanity which

evidence in so high a degree the progress of our civilization.

“Conquerors and deliverers of yourselves, without police, without magistrates, your virtue has taken the place of all organization, and never were the rights of every individual more religiously respected. Inhabitants of Paris! we are proud of being your brothers. In accepting, under present circumstances, a mandate so grave and difficult, your municipal commission has desired to associate with your devotion and efforts. Its members want means to express to you the admiration and gratitude of the country.

“Their sentiments, their principles, are yours. In place of an authority imposed on you by foreign arms, you will have a Government which will owe its origin to you. Merit is in all classes. All classes have the same rights; these rights are assured to them. *Vive la France! Vive le peuple de Paris! Vive la Liberté!*

“LOBAU, AUDRY, DE PUIRAVEAU,

“MAUGUIN, DE SCHONEN.

“The Secretary of the Municipal Commission,

“ODILLON BARROT.”

The Duke of Orleans commenced to exercise the powers of his high appointment by issuing the following

ORDINANCES.

“ORDINANCES OF THE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM.

“Art. 1. The French nation resumes its colors. No other cockade shall henceforth be worn than the tri-colored cockade.

“2. The Commissioners charged provisionally with the several departments of the Ministry shall provide each, as far as he is concerned, for the execution of the present ordinance.

“Paris, Aug. 1, 1830.

“LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS.

“(Countersigned)

“The Commissioners charged provisionally with the War Department,

“COUNT GERARD.

“No. 2. The Chamber of Peers and Chamber of Deputies shall meet on the 3d of August next, in the usual place.

“Five following Ordinances appoint the Commissioners for the several departments of the Ministry, viz.—

“WAR—GENERAL GERARD.

“JUSTICE—DUPONT DE L'EURE.

"INTERIOR—GUIZOT.

"FINANCE—BARON LOUIS.

"PREFECT OF POLICE—GIROD DE L'AIN.

The first sentence of the first ordinance, "The French nation resumes its colors," is expressed by the Duke of Orleans as an ordinance of the French people, to which he, as their executive power, ordains obedience. Never will these colors—the "three bright colors, each divine"—be forgotten, by either friends or enemies to Freedom. Lord Byron's matchless verse describes them, in a poem of great beauty on the decoration of an order instituted by one who knew better how to humble despotisms, and direct the energies of France against confederated powers, than how to restore its wounded Liberty. The verses alluded to are the fourth and fifth stanzas in the poem.

ON THE STAR OF "THE LEGION OF HONOR."

"STAR of the brave!—whose beam hath shed
Such glory o'er the quick and dead—
Thou radiant and adored deceit!
Which millions rushed in arms to greet,—
Wild meteor of immortal birth!
Why rise in Heaven to set on earth?

Souls of slain heroes formed thy rays;
Eternity flashed through thy blaze;
The music of thy martial sphere
Was fame on high and honor here;
And thy light broke on human eyes,
Like a volcano of the skies.

Like lava rolled thy stream of blood,
And swept down empires with its flood;
Earth rocked beneath thee to her base,
As thou didst lighten through all space;
And the shorn Sun grew dim in air,
And set while thou wert dwelling there.

Before thee rose, and with thee grew,
A rainbow of the loveliest hue
Of three bright colors, each divine,
And fit for that celestial sign;
For Freedom's hand had blended them,
Like tints in an immortal gem.

One tint was of the sunbeam's dyes;
One the blue depth of Seraph's eyes;
One the pure Spirit's veil of white
Had robed in radiance of its light:
The three so mingled did besem
The texture of a heavenly dream.

Star of the brave! thy ray is pale,
And darkness must again prevail!
But oh, thou Rainbow of the free!
Our tears and blood must flow for thee.
When thy bright promise fades away,
Our life is but a world of clay.

And Freedom hallows with her tread
The silent cities of the dead;
For beautiful in death are they
Who proudly fall in her array;
And soon, oh Goddess! may we be
For evermore with them or thee!"

To-day, after the utmost order throughout the night, the National Guard and armed citizens quietly occupied every point. Each hour added proofs of the wishes of the mass, lately so terrific, to conform to whatever was necessary for the preservation of tranquillity. Being Sunday, the churches were opened, and the priests offered up prayers for the Lieutenant General of the kingdom, instead of Charles X. He had arrived at Rambouillet, and in the course of to-day sent commissaries to Paris, to ask for a safeguard through the kingdom; with an offer to abdicate, and a request for gold, in exchange for Bank notes which the people refused to take from him.

In aid of the subscription for the wounded, and the widows and orphans of the brave men who distinguished themselves and fell in the mighty struggle last week, the Duke of Orleans subscribed 100,000 francs.

During the day the Duke of Orleans showed himself repeatedly at the balcony of the Palais Royal, and threw his proclamations among the people amid their loud acclamations. The cries of "Vive le Duc d'Orleans!" were incessant. People of eminence flocked to his saloon of audience. The National Guard were on duty outside; he crossed their ranks repeatedly, notwithstanding casualties to which he was exposed from being surrounded by a crowd of armed men, unaccustomed to handle heavy arms, and most of them exhausted with fatigue. He often gently lifted the sloping musket, armed with shot and bayonet, which impeded his passage through the mis-shapen ranks. The gate of the Tuileries was guarded by a man with bare arms, without coat or waistcoat; a strange, wild-looking substitute for the spruce sentry formerly there. The people with their arms slung over a brown coat—some with no coat at all, some with the tri-colored ribands streaming from a helmet, others with a neat cockade in a Sunday hat, and others again in an enormous fur cap stripped from some unfortunate Royal Guard—had a much more formidable appearance than regular troops. Their brown coats seemed to speak of things for which men fight better and longer, than for a soldier's pay and barrack room.

In the evening the crowd of promenaders and loungers was immense. All Paris had turned out; the artisans and laborers to drink the cheap liquors their scanty means afforded; and the richer to eat ices. All the bon-bons in the town must have been eaten up.

MONDAY, AUGUST 2.

To-day the weather continued as warm and fine as it had been from the day Charles X. signed the ordinances; the streets were crowded, but without confusion, and every where the pavement was renewing.

The journals had now re-appeared, except the London Express, the Drapeau Blanc, and Universel, which were probably given up. The *National* took a decided step at first, and held its fearless course throughout the struggle. To-day it asserted, that if the king intended to abdicate in favor of the Duke of Bourdeaux, it was visibly for the purpose of putting the crown on the head of a child to whom no reproach could be applied, and of preventing, by these means, the extinction of the pretended rights of the Bourbon family. But, says this Journal,—"We have victory on our side. Victory gives and takes away empires. It has placed in our hands the disposal of the Crown of France. We shall do so as we please, and in favor of a Prince acknowledging to hold it from us. This is an important condition for France. The Duke of Bourdeaux would still hold his crown 'by the grace of God.' The Prince we shall make choice of will hold it from us alone; we must therefore reject this wretched remnant of pretension. Once more we are the conquerors, and we ought to profit by our victory."

The walls were placarded with appeals in favor of investing the Duke of Orleans with the sovereignty; among others, his letter in 1815 to Marshal Mortier: but there was a general conviction of the necessity for leaving the discussion of all points respecting the future King—the future constitution—and the future government—to the Chambers. A commission consisting of M. M. Odillon, Barrot, De Schonen, Jacqueminot, the Duke de Coigny, and the Duke de Treviso left Paris this afternoon for Rambouillet, with a safe-conduct for Charles X., and to arrange and forward his departure.

The judges of the ancient Cour Royale of Paris engaged in a small way to help the lameness of legitimacy. On Friday the 30th, the day after Paris was delivered from its invaders by the energies of the people, and when St. Cloud itself was about to fall into their power, the Cour Royale kept up its intercourse with Charles X., whose very shadow inspired it with awe. Messrs. de Mortemart and de Semonville requested M. Segulier, the first president, to convoke the Court, and prevail upon it to adopt some step favorable to the Royal cause. M. Segulier consented, and drew up with his own hand the draught

of the letter of convocation "in the name of his majesty." When the letters were all prepared, the porters of the Court were not inclined to carry them, for fear of being stopped by the patrols of citizens; but at length they were prevailed upon, and the next day, Saturday the 31st, the major part of the Magistrates assembled to administer justice, "*in the name of his Majesty*," to "*his Majesty's people*." They assembled alone—not a single Advocate—not a single Attorney appeared. This absence might have admonished the ancient Court that it no longer existed. It persisted, however, in holding its important sittings, and to-day sat again. A number of advocates and solicitors appeared, but without their robes. M. Segulier, discovering that the ancient Cour Royale was as little agreeable to the bar as to the people, closed the sitting instantly. Two or three of the advocates, famed for monarch-worship, defended the Cour Royale, borrowing the hypocritical phrases of the ex-king:—"Justice is the prime want of the people; the magistrates are irremovable in virtue of the Charter." The answer was—"It is true, justice is the prime need of the people, but justice can only proceed from pure lips; true, the magistrates are irremovable, but where is the principle of their immovability? In the Charter. But what has become of the Charter? It has been torn to pieces by the late King, who has violated his oath, and we are absolved from ours. The Charter no longer exists; you, magistrates of the Charter, have disappeared along with it. A new Government is erecting on the will of the people—have you received your appointment from this new Government?" Thus terminated the attempt of the ancient Cour Royale to disturb the peace.

To-day the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom issued an ordinance repealing condemnations for political offences of the press, directing the liberation of all persons confined for such offences, remitting their fines and expenses, and quashing prosecutions. Other ordinances appointed M. Bernard, of Rennes, Procureur-General at the Royal Court; M. Barthe, Procureur du Roi at the tribunal of First Instance; and M. Joseph Morillon, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Justice. These appointments gave much satisfaction, especially the latter.

On the Duke of Orleans becoming Lieutenant-General, General Lafayette had resigned the command of the National Guard; but the Duke prevailed on him to accept it

again, and thus continue to the rising government the important sanction of his venerated name.

General Lafayette, on resuming his command, issued the following—

ORDER OF THE DAY.

August 2.

“During the glorious crisis in which the Parisian energy has conquered our rights, every thing still remains provisional: there is nothing definitive but the sovereignty of those national rights, and the eternal remembrance of the glorious work of the people; but, amidst the various powers instituted through the necessity of our situation, the re-organization of the National Guards is a most necessary defence for the public order, and one which is highly called for. The opinion of the Prince exercising the high station of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, most honorable to myself, is, that I should for the present take that command. In 1790 I refused to accept such an offer, made to me by 3,000,000 of my comrades, as that office would have been a permanent one, and might one day have become a very dangerous one. Now that circumstances are altered, I think it my duty, in order to serve liberty and my country, to accept the station of General-Commandant of the National Guards of France.

“LAFAYETTE.”

Another order of the day directed the general organization of the National Guards, upon the principles of that formed in 1791, without any change in the uniform, except that of the cuff being white instead of blue.

In the National Guard consists the physical strength of the people. The measure which of all others most contributed to the preservation of tranquillity was the promptitude with which the Provisional Government, on the recommendation of Lafayette, proceeded to the organisation of twenty regiments of this civic force. This arrangement had the effect of clearing the streets of all who, in a moment of excitement, might have become disturbers, and, converting all into protectors of the public peace. The rapidity with which the lists had been filled up assured the minds of the most timid that, if danger were to arise, there would be no want of a powerful body of able, valiant, and disinterested defenders. This morning there was a surplus of 70,000 or 80,000 beyond the number requisite under ordinary circumstances. A proclamation from the Municipal Government, invited patriotic offerings.

The Peers and Deputies held separate meetings to-day, preparatory to the important

opening of the Chambers to-morrow by the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. The Deputies drew lots for a grand deputation to receive him. Nearly all the members present were of the centre and extreme left; several of the centre right attended. Very few of the extreme right were expected to attend the Chamber to-morrow.

The treasure of the Duchess d'Angouleme, amounting to £60,000 sterling, fell into the hands of the government. Among her papers a plan of a counter-revolution was found. The fall of the Court of Charles X. caused confusion and alarm among the superior clergy. Several prelates fled from their dioceses, loaded with the same maledictions which accompanied the King's precipitate retreat. His noted confidante and adviser, M. Latil, archbishop of Rheims, was stopped at Vaugirard with a great quantity of church plate in his carriage. This was taken away, and he was allowed to proceed.

During the whole day the roads leading to Paris were covered with soldiers of all descriptions coming in to join the popular ranks: they were immediately directed to the various depôts appointed to receive them. The arrival of old officers and sub-officers was also constant; all those in Paris had already submitted. The appearance of the old soldiers excited deep interest. They were the remnants of the old grand army, and, excited by recent and passing events, now displayed a spirit sometimes beyond their corporeal powers. This morning, at the Palais Royal, an elderly man, in the costume of a Colonel of the old army, was seen to limp along the galleries with great animation. He was attended by a man older than himself, in the uniform of the Veterans, who seemed to act as a species of orderly. They stopped at several houses to leave orders, and were two of the most interesting figures imaginable. The sight of an old officer and an old soldier in the Palais Royal, and *on business*, excited the attention and curiosity of the news-loving citizens. The Colonel could not be approached, and his Aid-du-Camp had such an air of importance and occupation as to repel idle curiosity. A man at last ventured, with great humility, to ask the veteran who was the officer before them? The orderly abruptly replied—“*C'est un ancien*” (He is an old un)—“*Comment !*”—“*Mais oui,*” said the serjeant, with a look of pity for the ignorance of the enquirer, and of complacent pride, “*tous les anciens sont là*”—(All the old uns are here). This brusque reply diffused pleasure among all who heard it. The old army lives in the affections and the confidence of the French. They call the conscripts and young French soldiers “Jean-Jean,” play-

fully, as we call our sailors "Jack." The old soldiers are looked upon with great reverence by Jean-Jean, and are called in the same way "*les anciens*" (the old fellows), or "old 'uns."

This morning the admirers of court dignity received a dreadful shock. The Duchess of Orleans and her daughters came to the Palais Royal from their country seat near Courvevoie, as simple passengers, in a Caroline, a carriage similar to the omnibus. So notorious an irruption upon etiquette, by a lady of Royal Blood, crushed all hope of living under such an order of things as it portended. It was clear that the world—the

great world—was at an end. The Duchess of Orleans, accompanied by her numerous family, visited the wounded at the Hotel Dieu. They there dispensed consolation and succor to the wives and children of the brave citizens. Enthusiastic acclamations greeted this solemn homage to courage in misfortune. The Duchess replied by tears. In the evening the young ladies of the Orleans family were employed in making lint for the wounded. They sat in the balcony of the terrace of the Palais Royal, but were concealed from public view.

At night the National Guard were preparing to assist in the solemn ceremony of the opening of the chamber to-morrow.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 3.

The opening of the Chambers which had been fixed for to day, and which, as it approached, was anticipated with increasing anxiety, now took place at the Palais du Corps Legislatif, heretofore called the Chamber of Deputies.

There were present at the opening of the session one hundred and ninety-four Deputies. They were chiefly of the extreme left, consisting mostly of Republicans and some Buonapartean; the centre left, consisting of moderate Reformers, and a few opponents to ministers, desiring their places rather than disliking their measures; and about a dozen moderate adherents to the expelled dynasty: there were no ultra-royalists. The galleries were crowded with peers, general officers of the old army, the diplomatic body, and other auditors. In the body of the Chamber were the deputies, who, instead of appearing in their royal costume, preserved their ordinary black clothing. A few of them who were generals appeared in uniform. The most conspicuous military man was General Sebastiani, who, though dressed in black, wore over his coat the grand cordon of the Legion of Honor. They awaited the arrival of the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. There were about sixty-nine peers present.

At one o'clock, the Duke of Orleans, dressed in the uniform of a Lieutenant-General, and accompanied by detachments of the National Guard of each arrondissement, left the Palais Royal. He was received on his passage with enthusiastic cries of "*Vive d'Orleans!*" and "*Vive la Liberté!*" On arriving at the Palais of the Legislatif body, the music of the legions struck up the air of "*La victoire est à nous.*" The Duke, pre-

ceded by his family, was ushered into the hall of the sittings, by the grand deputation appointed to receive him. On their entrance they were received by the Deputies standing, and with loud cries of "*Vive d'Orleans!*" "*Vive La Liberté!*" The Duchess of Orleans appeared greatly affected by the scene, and, notwithstanding the efforts she made to conceal her feelings, the redness of her eyes betrayed recent emotions, occasioned by the joyous acclamations of the people, during the progress from the Palais Royal.

The Duke of Orleans, as Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, opened the sittings by the following speech:—

"PEERS AND DEPUTIES,—

Paris, troubled in its repose by a deplorable violation of the Charter and of the laws, defended them with heroic courage! In the midst of this sanguinary struggle, all the guarantees of social order no longer subsisted. Persons, property, rights, every thing that is most valuable and dear to men and to citizens, was exposed to the most serious danger.

"In this absence of all public power, the wishes of the public citizens turned towards me; they have judged me worthy to concur with them in the salvation of the country; they have invited me to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

"Their cause appeared to me to be just,—the danger immense,—the necessity imperative,—my duty sacred. I hastened to the midst of this valiant people, followed by my family, and wearing those colors which, for the second time, have marked among us the triumph of liberty.

"I have come, firmly resolved to devote myself to all that circumstances should require of me in the situation in which they

have placed me, to establish the empire of the laws, to save liberty, which was threatened, and render impossible the return of such great evils, by securing for ever the power of that Charter whose name, invoked during the combat, was also appealed to after the victory. (*Applauses.*)

"In the accomplishment of this noble task it is for the Chambers to guide me. All rights must be solemnly guaranteed, all the institutions necessary to their full and free exercise must receive the developments of which they have need. Attached by inclination and conviction to the principles of a free government, I accept beforehand all the consequences of it. I think it my duty immediately to call your attention to the organization of the National Guards, to the application of the jury to the crimes of the press, the formation of the departmental and municipal administrations, and above all to that fourteenth article of the Charter which has been so hatefully interpreted. (*Fresh Applauses.*)

"It is with these sentiments, gentlemen, that I come to open this session.

"The past is painful to me. I deplore misfortunes which I could have wished to prevent; but in the midst of this magnanimous transport of the capital, and of all the other French cities, at the sight of order reviving with marvellous promptness, after a resistance pure from all excesses, a just national pride moves my heart, and I look forward with confidence to the future destiny of the country.

"Yes, gentlemen, France, which is so dear to us, will be happy and free; it will show to Europe that, solely engaged with its internal prosperity, it loves peace as well as liberty, and desires only the happiness and the repose of its neighbours.

"Respect for all rights, care for all interests, good faith in the government, are the best means to disarm parties, and to bring back to people's minds that confidence, to the institutions that stability, which are the only certain pledges of the happiness of the people, and of the strength of the states.

"PEERS AND DEPUTIES,—

"As soon as the Chambers shall be constituted, I shall have laid before you the acts of abdication of His Majesty King Charles X. By the same act His Royal Highness Louis Antoine de France also renounces his rights. This act was placed in my hands yesterday, the 2d of August, at 11 o'clock at night. I have this morning ordered it be deposited in the archives of the Chamber of Peers, and I caused it to be inserted in the official part of the *Moniteur*."

The Duke pronounced his speech in a very

audible voice, and laid peculiar emphasis on the passages in which he alluded to the violations of the Charter, and the guarantees against future encroachments. The instant he concluded, the cries of "Vive d'Orleans!" "Vive La Liberté!" were repeated more loudly than before. The Duke appeared to be deeply affected: he saluted the assembly several times, and withdrew with his sons, attended by the great deputation, which conducted him back to the door.

M. Lafitte then advanced towards the centre of the assembly, and said, "I think, Gentlemen, that we ought to separate to-day, to meet again to-morrow at noon." Some members proposed to form bureaux (committees), and appoint a President at once; but the Chamber adjourned till to-morrow.

The opening of the chamber was of necessity an affair of mere ceremony, and in five minutes the sitting was ended. The immense crowd which surrounded the Palace filled the air with the loudest acclamations. The National Guard alone, in their best uniforms, lined the way; but they seemed to have come rather to take part in a fête than to maintain order, for nobody thought of disturbing it. At the slightest injunction of a citizen soldier, the groups dispersed as if by enchantment to make room for the deputies. An individual, who used expressions of ultra-loyalty to the ex-King, was escorted to the guard-house: in the former revolution such a manifestation would have conducted him to the next lamp-iron. A single incident interrupted tranquillity for a moment at one point. Some persons carried about the square a tri-colored flag covered with crape, crying "Liberty or Death!" The National Guard speedily dispersed this assemblage: a few of them were for a moment arrested. They were found to have pistols about them, but not loaded, and the prisoners were immediately released.

The act of abdication of Charles X., and of the Duc d'Angouleme, referred to by the Duke of Orleans in his speech as having been received by him at midnight, is annexed:—It was addressed "To my cousin, the Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom:—"

"RAMBOUILLET, Aug. 2.

"MY COUSIN,—I am too profoundly grieved by the evils which afflict or might threaten my people not to have sought a means of preventing them. I have therefore taken the resolution to abdicate the Crown in favor of my grandson, the Duke de Bordeaux.

"The Dauphin, who partakes my sentiments, also renounces his rights in favor of his nephew.

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"You will have, then, in your quality of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, to cause the accession of HENRY V. to the Crown to be proclaimed. You will take, besides, all the measures which concern you to regulate the form for the government during the minority of the new King. Here I confine myself to making known these dispositions: it is a means to avoid many evils.

"You will communicate my intentions to the diplomatic body; and you will acquaint me as soon as possible with the proclamation by which my grandson shall have been recognized King of France, under the name of HENRY V.

"I charge Lieutenant-General Viscount de Foissac-Latour to deliver this letter to you. He has orders to settle with you the arrangements to be made in favor of the persons who have accompanied me, as well as the arrangements necessary for what concerns me and the rest of my family.

"We will afterwards regulate the other measures which will be the consequence of the change of the reign.

"I repeat to you, my cousin, the assurance of the sentiments with which I am your affectionate cousin,

"CHARLES

"LOUIS ANTOINE."

This doating act was in exact conformity with every movement of the weakness Charles X. had always evinced, and which seemed to appertain to the family. When the fortress of the Bastille was stormed and taken in July 1789, and poor Louis XVI. was informed of it, he thought it might be more than a street riot and he called it "a revolt;" the Duc de Liancourt—with the honesty of Trim towards his master my uncle Toby—said to the king "Please your Majesty, it is a revolution!" On Wednesday, when a terrified miniature painter, covered with the gore of a man shot by his side in Paris, told Charles X. of the insurrection of the people, the king said "It is nothing!—begin;" and he calmly sat down to have his likeness taken. After the insurrection had become a revolution, and the Provisional government appointed the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, Charles X.—at that time actually the creature of the people's mercy—dreamed of still possessing power, and, *he* forsooth, appointed the Duke to be Lieutenant-General. At St. Cloud, where the people allowed him to remain on sufferance, he imagined "his people!" would petition him to return;—"his people," whom his troops had been for three days, by his order, endeavouring to butcher into submission! This was too much to bear, and, on "his people" preparing to force him from St Cloud, he escaped to Rambouillet;

let; from thence he sent to the Provisional government then established in Paris, and got his bank notes changed, in order, as they supposed, to enable him to continue his flight to the coast. No. Still they were "his people!"—still their loyalty might return!—still they might want him at Paris! He, now, had a camp at Rambouillet, with several corps of the Royal Guards around him. It was impossible to suffer within thirty miles of the capital an armed force which did not depend upon the established Government, and which, by its bare presence near Paris, kept the people there in a state of dangerous irritation. In fact, the agitation against him increased alarmingly in the capital, and there was every moment reason to fear that masses of the population would, of their own accord, march to attack him.

The Duke of Orleans perceived the necessity of anticipating movements which the prolongation of the abode of Charles X. at Rambouillet could not fail to produce, and he selected chiefs, who, by regulating the people, might prevent excesses. He felt also that sentiments of affection and relationship dictated to him the same measures that were commanded by his public duties. The people were ringing the tocsin, and arming of themselves. The drum of the government called the National Guards to their posts. It was then announced to all, that the attitude taken by the King required that he should be brought to reason—he compelled to go, or surrender—and that, to effect one or the other, the citizens of Paris were required by Government to march on Rambouillet. The command of the force was given to General Pajol, and under him were General Excelmans, Colonel Jacqueminot, and M. George La Fayette. The pupils of the Polytechnic School were to act as they directed, and no regular or organised troops were to be employed. Volunteers, including all those who had retained muskets since the day of their triumph, presented themselves in every direction. Six thousand of the National Guard departed within two hours. To despatch them quickly, the omnibuses, and all the other carriages of that class, with hackney coaches and cabriolets, were put in requisition. Thousands of others set out on foot, not in bodies, but in a continued stream. They marched by the Champs Elysées to the Bois de Boulogne, where the first attempt to reduce them to order was made, and from thence by St. Cloud and Versailles. Hundreds of this multitude were burning with inveteracy against a despot who had remorselessly persisted in ordering the daily slaughter of the people. The sons of an old man of seventy, who was shot whilst standing at his

window, joined in the march, fully resolved, if the slightest occasion should offer, to destroy some of the royal family. The equipments were motley in the extreme. Some were armed with rusty bayonets, some with swords of one shape, some of another; some with pikes at the end of a pole, some with horse pistols; some were without shirts, some without jackets, others without stockings; some were in aprons, with part of the spoils of the soldiers over them; some in ragged caps, and some with the caps of the Swiss, who, with hundreds of others, were in the bed of the river. Had these people come in contact with Charles X., whom they deemed the author of the late scenes in Paris, his head might probably have preceded them into Paris. Such an act was warily provided against by the Lieutenant-General. He hoped that the march of the 6000 of the National Guard, would be such a demonstration as would induce Charles X. to take the only step which so many circumstances united to make him adopt—that of retiring, and dissolving the armed force with which he was still surrounded. The National Guard was joined by between 50,000 and 60,000 men, with that eagerness which distinguishes the French nation in its enterprises. But at the same time that the Duke of Orleans fulfilled with resolution his duties as head of the State, he gave every thing that he owed to misfortune and to the dignity of France. Three Commissioners, Marshal Maison, M. de Schonen, and M. Odillon Barrot, were ordered to go to Charles X., and protect him as far as the frontier. These Commissioners preceded the column advancing from Paris by some hours. They saw the King, and urged him, in the name of humanity, not to let French blood be vainly shed, and at length induced him to depart. There were previous stipulations on both sides. Charles was to restore the Crown diamonds, and the Provisional Government was to furnish him with 4,000,000 of francs (about £170,000 sterling); and one-fourth of this sum was required immediately. Such matters were soon arranged, the Commissioners obtained possession of the diamonds, and, Charles having determined on proceeding to Cherbourg, they notified it by the following letter.

TO THE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE
KINGDOM.

"Rambouillet, Aug. 3.

" Monseigneur,—It is with joy that we announce the success of our mission. The King has determined to depart with all his family. We shall bring you all the incidents

and details of the journey with the greatest precision. May it terminate happily!

"We follow the route to Cherbourg. All the troops are directed to march on Epervan. To-morrow morning it will be decided which shall definitively follow the King.

"We are, with respect and devotion,

"Your Royal Highness's

"Most humble and obedient servants,

“DE SCHONEN.

“ LE MARECHAL MAISON.

"ODILLON BARROT."

After Charles X. had dismissed his infantry, the Royal Guard capitulated, and he quitted Rambouillet, with all his family, abandoning every thing, except however his hopes that the Duke of Bourdeaux or himself might regain the proprietorship of "his people." The National Guards and the people had bivouacked at Coignières, and at day-break desired to enter Rambouillet. They were restrained by their commanders until after the commissioners and their charge had left the town, and the people even then had the good sense to depute a vanguard of 300 men, who entered alone. The only abuse of the victory was the possession of some of the King's bedizened carriages, which they drove back to Paris in state, with eight horses in each, and each with overfull loads of most ungenteel passengers inside and outside. Meantime Charles X., with his family and the commissioners, arrived at Dreux, where the day's journey was to terminate. That town had hoisted the tri-colored flag. Its National Guard occupied the out-posts, and had detained the officers who had been sent forward to prepare quarters. The Commissioners appeared, and, at the sight of their tri-colored scarf, the barriers were opened; the commissioners entered alone, and announced to the National Guard that hostilities had terminated, that Charles X. was no longer sovereign of the country, but unhappy, and had a claim to all the attention due to misfortune. The National Guard declared their assent by acclamations, and carried their delicacy so far as to hide, as much as possible, their tri-colored cockades when the King passed by.

In this posture of affairs all desired a permanent government, but all were not agreed as to the form it should assume. The real state of the public mind, and the reasons of each party, with suggestions calculated to reconcile their differences, were set forth in the following able article, from a careful perusal of which sticklers for forms of government may gain knowledge, and, if they have the power of reflection, derive wisdom.

(From the *Journal des Debats*.)

"A new order of things commences. We think it our duty to explain openly our opinions and principles upon the subject.

"The eldest branch of the House of Bourbon has ceased to govern. His fall has been rapid. In less than eight days he has fallen from his throne. He departs to-day, carrying with him from France only an eternal farewell, mingled in compassionate minds with pity, alas! but without regret. He departs:—he goes to seek his old exile. He is about to cross the sea once more. No more France for him! No more country!—It was his own seeking. He has by his errors defeated the work of Providence, which had beyond all hope recalled him from exile to place him on the greatest throne in Christendom.

"However well deserved the catastrophe may be, we cannot contemplate it entirely without emotion. We pity the daughter of Louis XVI., who has suffered so much, and always heroically, and who returned hastily from her journey to accompany the flight of her family. We pity the Princess, whose happiness her sister envied when she was going to reign in Spain a few months ago, and who loses, at one blow, the Majesty of her widowhood and the future Royalty of her son. We commiserate so many rapid changes of fortune, and we bring to mind the expression of Massillon, 'God is great.' We may add that if God alone is great, it is because God alone is just, and that, according to the words of the poet,—

'Sa parole est stable et ne trompe jamais.'

"These are our sentiments. We do not make a mystery of them, believing that we should not offend that branch of the Bourbons about to govern us by stating how very fragile is the greatness of those whose oaths are fragile; believing also that we shall not displease France by reminding it of misfortunes which it sought to prevent by its representations, but which were doomed to be accomplished, accompanied by the aggravation of two crimes which can never be effaced—the violation of sworn faith, and the effusion of French blood.

"We come now to the principles which will be the rule of our conduct in the new order of things.

"The eldest branch of the Bourbons fell the first time in 1789, in conjunction with the whole of social order. Notwithstanding the violence of the revolution, it did not entirely destroy the old social order. There were opinions and powerful interests which clung to it. These assisted the restoration. Now the eldest branch of the same family falls; but falls alone. No part of our existing social order has perished with it—nay, more, it is

because this branch wished to overthrow social order, that it has been itself overthrown. Its return, therefore, is impossible. Persons are never considered for themselves, but for the things which they represent and personify. Now the eldest branch of the Bourbons represents at the present time only itself,—itself alone, and perhaps also the power of the clergy; that is to say, a thing which is more superannuated and defunct in France than absolute power—a thing which dates from the middle age, whilst absolute loyalty dates only from the sixteenth century. Its return is therefore impossible,—nothing of our actual social order having perished with it.

"But, in order that its return may be impossible, it is necessary to maintain the existing social order. We must maintain our institutions, and only develop them according to the means which they themselves furnish us with for doing so. Let us maintain *what is*, since *what is* is not opposed to *what ought to be*, since *what is* favors the regular development of society. Let us maintain the Representative Government, which is at once conservative and progressive.

"In France, if our power is employed to maintain the existing social order, it is invincible; for it is supported by the wishes of the majority. If it be employed against the maintenance of our institutions—if we desire to establish the republic, this power becomes more doubtful and uncertain, because it is necessary to measure it no longer in its relation with France but with Europe.

"In effect, every thing which is done in France is a European event. We do not labor for ourselves alone, but for all the continent. Such is our destiny; grand and majestic, doubtless, but one which ought to occasion us serious reflections. The French revolution shook the whole continent, overthrew states, changed the old European society. What we do at this moment will also have its effect on Europe: that we may be certain of. The question to be decided now is, whether the republic has the majority of Europe in its favor.

"We believe, for our own parts, that a republic has not the majority of France in its favor; but it is certain, it is evident, that it has not the majority of Europe in its favor. If, then, we form ourselves into a republic, we must republicanise the whole of Europe, whether it will or no. The experience of the revolution proves that it will be a necessity more powerful than all the promises we may make of occupying ourselves with our own affairs, without concerning ourselves with our neighbours. This selfishness is possible only in England. In France it is impossible.

"To republicanise Europe is a formidable

task, when we reflect that representative government, the inevitable preface to a republican state, has scarcely begun to exist without strength and power in some of the small states of Germany, and that it does not exist at all in Prussia, Austria, Italy, and Spain.—What wars, what blood, what money, would it not cost to bring Europe to an order of things from which she is still removed!—But we will conquer as we have already done. Yes; but on what condition have you conquered? On condition of having a Buonaparte. We will have one. Yes; but at the same price as the other—that is to say, at the price of liberty; so that, by an inevitable circle, a republic brings war—war brings a Buonaparte—and Buonaparte brings the abolition of the republic. But if we had a republican Buonaparte!—It is impossible. What made Buonaparte's power was his having all the energies of France in his hands. But in order to obtain them he was obliged to protect the interests of the ancient regime, to raise up the altars, to recal the emigrants, and to do all this he was compelled to make himself Emperor. There is, therefore, always the same inevitable circle—the republic, war, the empire—that is to say, the abolition of the republic.

“The maintenance of the existing social order and its progressive and regular development—those are our principles. Existing society has for its object the union of liberty and order. This union France has sought for forty years. Under Buonaparte it had order without liberty; under Louis XVIII., an able king, they succeeded each other in turn rather than co-existed; it was all, we believe, that the difficulties of the times permitted. To secure order, our first care should be to get rid of provisional government; for that would soon be anarchy! It is for the Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies to provide for the safety of France. We await their decision.”

An English lady, in a letter to her husband in London, pleasantly expresses her opinion of the important movements in Paris. She says—“What a pity—you that are an amateur—that you have not been here to see a *Pattern Revolution*. The French, from being a warning, have become an example—a glorious example to all nations. Never was anything more prompt, more vigorous, more intelligent, and, after the most triumphant success, more moderate. And all conducted by a populace unprepared, and absolutely without Chiefs. Not a single act of unnecessary destruction or violence of any sort

has been committed. Yesterday evening we walked through crowds of armed men in all the intoxication of victory, without the slightest inconvenience. The tri-colored flag and cockade were displayed in all directions; the people were parading the streets with garlands of roses hung on the points of their bayonets, and from one end of Paris to the other nothing was heard but one universal cry of ‘*Vive la Charte!*’” She then briefly relates scenes that preceded this tranquillity, and carelessly adds, “The Poor Garde Royale—my good friends of Notre Dame—how bravely have they sold their lives for sixpence a day, and for that which they have been educated to believe right. And this poor foolish King!—can you believe such profound infatuation?—yesterday, at noon, he graciously granted an *amnesty* to his loving subjects! I dare say the poor man will retire to Hartwell, or elsewhere, with a conscience void of offence towards God and man. In fact, the being a century behind their subjects in knowledge is the only fault of the Bourbons; and, perhaps, they ought no more to be held responsible for the calamities they have been the cause of, than the bull Apis, if his worshippers had chosen to cut their throats on his account. However, it is to be hoped that the reign of oxen and asses is nearly at an end all over the world.—My brother Charles was at the taking of the Tuilleries, and went in with the rest. He brought me some scented wood from the toilette of the Duchess de Berri. He said the people did no mischief except tearing down the curtains to make themselves scarfs. Only one picture was shot through with hundreds of balls—it was the portrait of the Duc de Raguse. Notwithstanding their moderation, the people seemed to think that they had a fair right to make themselves welcome to the contents of the cellar. Charles says a bottle which fell to his share tasted exactly like the sacramental wine at Queen’s.—It is now reported that the Duc d’Orleans is to be King; but I do not believe anything is yet known. As far as the nation is concerned all is finished; for it is little mischief that seven madmen, with the poor unfortunate King at their head, could do. But, if they should bring down others of their clan from foreign countries, this may be only the beginning of misfortunes. I cannot help thinking it is lucky that George IV. is gathered to his fathers; for he might have taken it into his head to meddle in the matter.—The preparations for defence are not in the least relaxed, and there are said to be in Paris 70,000 men under arms. Except for the killed and wounded, this would almost have been, what Mirabeau said was impossible—a Revolution of Rose-water.”

To-day, the duke de Chartres, eldest son of the Lieutenant-General, entered Paris at the head of his regiment, preceded and followed by the National Guards of Rouen and Evreux, and a very considerable number of young men. He proceeded along the boulevards to the Palais Royal, with the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Nemours, on his right and left. The assembled crowd welcomed him with the most lively acclamations.

The officers of the old army were flocking in all day. It was amusing to observe with what importance the old (private) soldiers bore themselves. The "young ones," the men who fought so bravely last week, were still in possession of many of the posts they took; the Bank Guard was composed of them and the National Guards, half and half, and the same in the Palais Royal; but the Tuilleries had been continued to themselves, with the tri-colored flag they hoisted on it when they took it, consisting of three pocket handkerchiefs, subscribed by the captives, pinned together to form the tri-color.

This afternoon the volunteers of Elbeuf made their entree into the ci-devant caserne of the Garde du Corps. They were a fine body of men, about 400 in number, all armed with muskets and bayonets, and more than one half of them in the full uniform of the National Guards. Immense bodies from other quarters were on their march to succor the Parisians, if necessary. An "old 'un," who stood to see the Elbeuf battalion enter—a man of about sixty—his hair black, but his moustaches and whiskers gray—wore a sky-blue vest, a scarlet dolman or pelisse, buff leather breeches, boots, a square fur cap, and *sabretache*—all ornamented with the letter "N" and Bees. He said he had been

a Quartermaster of the Corps of Guides of the Imperial Guard. He had resumed his well-preserved uniform, and left his house at Chaton, near St. Germain-en-Laye, on Sunday last, to join the "new army," as he called it, and narrowly escaped a volley fired at him by some retreating Swiss. He had been restored to his old rank by the existing Government. The careful preservation of every article of their ancient costume, by those veterans, tends to prove that what happened last week would have happened, sooner or later, even though the Charter had not been openly violated.

An English gentleman relates an amusing anecdote. He was walking to-day in the plain of Grenelle, and met a countryman armed with a fowling-piece accompanied by a tall soldier-like young man, with his arm in a sling. In reply to enquiry for news of the king, the countryman said the *Sacre* had fled. "This man with his arm in a sling," added he, "is my prisoner: is it not true, Jean?" "Yes," said the young man, with a humble shake of the head. "He was a soldier, and so I fired at him," said the countryman, "and shot him through the arm, which reminded him that I was the friend of his cousin. He told me he was from Issy (a village near Paris,) and would join the people; so I took him into a public-house, and gave him some wine, and a pair of trousers and that jacket; for I could not bear the sight of his butcher's dress. I then had his moustaches shaved, and we are now on our way across the plain, to spend the evening with his cousin." This incident shows the kindly disposition that prevailed among the people towards each other.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4.

At noon to-day the Chamber of Deputies met, and proceeded to business under M. Labbey de Pompiere, President by seniority, when the nine bureaux (committees) were formed by ballot. The validity of the elections was discussed. A great number of members were declared duly elected, and the decision upon others postponed. M. Charles Dupin said that on account of the crisis of affairs it was highly important to proceed rapidly, and therefore to declare that the Chamber would sit permanently till it had verified the powers of all the members who had presented their papers. This was agreed to, and the Chamber proceeded to

vote for five candidates, one of whom was finally to be elected President. The five members chosen were M. Cassimir Perrier, M. Jacques Lafitte, M. Benjamin Delessert, M. Dupin, sen., and M. Royer Collard. Towards the close of the sitting, M. Charles Dupin said, "With the Charter in my hand, I say——" M. de Corcelles interrupted him—"The Charter is defunct." During the balloting, groups were formed in different parts of the Hall, and, from some words that fell, it was evident that they were discussing the propriety of forming a Secret Committee, to which the majority evidently were opposed: the words "*point*

de Comité Secret! jamais de Comité Secret! set the question at rest. The abdication of Charles X. offered matter for much remark: a member of the extreme left exclaimed, with vehemence, "We do not want his abdication: in our quality of representatives of the French people, we have a right to impose upon him the forfeiture of the throne."

In the Chamber of Peers, Baron Pasquier, appointed President of the Chamber by an Ordinance of yesterday, took the Chair, and an Ordinance was read, by which the Dukes de Chartres and Nemours, sons of the Lieutenant-General, were authorised to sit during the Session. The Chamber appointed Secretaries, and a Committee to draw up the Address, and balloted for the bureaux.

It is not proposed to follow Charles X. in his progress with the Commissioners. The following document from Marmont, dated to-day, appears to have been the last document issued in the ex-King's behalf.

"ORDER OF THE DAY.

"Moulins, August 4.

"Immediately after the departure of the King, all the regiments of infantry and artillery of the guards and of the *gens-d'armes* will commence their march to Chartres, where they will receive all the provisions necessary for them. Messrs. the chiefs of the corps, after having called their regiments together, will declare to them that His Majesty, with the most profound affliction, finds himself obliged to separate from them; that he commands them to express his satisfaction to the troops; and that he will always preserve the remembrance of their admirable conduct, of their devotedness and their patience in enduring the hardships and privations under which they have labored during the late unfortunate events.

"The King, for the last time, transmitted his orders to the brave troops of the guards and of the line who have accompanied him. They are to go to Paris, where they will make their submission to the Prince Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, who has taken all necessary measures for their safety and their future welfare. (Signed)

"The Marshal Duke of RAGUSE.
(Countersigned)

"The Chief of the Staff, the Marquis de CHOISEUIL."

A letter was seized from the Duchess d'Angoulême to a friend, in which she says that, "after such decisive steps as those, she really commences to love her uncle." This demonstrates her approbation of the mea-

sures of the ex-King, who is her uncle and also her father-in-law. Papers were stated to have been found, clearly establishing the fact of the formation of prevotal courts, and of the determination of the ex-minister to have condemned more than forty peers to death. Upon authority which the *Journal du Commerce* believes authentic, it publishes a list of persons for whose arrest warrants were signed on the 25th of July. Many of these were newly-elected deputies, though in the warrants they are styled "former deputies." The warrants were dated on the 26th, in order that the ordinances of the day before, which annulled the rights of these deputies, might color the disownment. A magistrate of the Tribunal de Première Instance, whose name the *Journal du Commerce* purposely conceals, signed the warrants. The following is the list of the individuals singled out for court vengeance:—Messrs. Eusebe de Salverte; General Demarçay; General Count Clausel; General Lamarque; Tircuir de Corcelles; Benjamin Constant; the Count de Bondy; Duris Dufresne; Viennet; Daunon; General Mouton; Count de Lobau; Labbey de Pompières; Manguin, Advocate; Devaux, Advocate; the Marquis de Grammont; Mercier, President of the Tribunal of Commerce at Alençon; Colonel de Briquerville; Colonel de Jacqueminot; Dupont (de l'Eure); and Audry de Puiraveau, all former Deputies; Isambert, Advocate; Odillon; Barrot, Advocate; Merilhon; Ch. Dunoyer, Publicist; Lieutenant-General Pajol; Chatelain and de Lapenauze, editors of the *Courrier Français*; Ch. Fabre, editor of the *Tribune des Départemens*; Evariste, Dumoulin, Cauchois, Lemaire, and Annès, editors of the *Constitutionnel*; L. Pillet, editor of the *Journal de Paris*; Roqueplan and Bohain, editors of the *Figaro*; Bert, editor of the *Journal du Commerce*; J. Coste, Baude, and Barbaroux, editors of the *Temps*; Gauja, editor of the *National*; and P. Leroux, editor of the *Globe*. Five warrants of depot were issued against Messrs. De Schonen, Counsellor at Paris; de Podenas, Counsellor at Toulouse; Chardel, Judge of the Tribunal of the Seine; and Baroux, Judge, all former Deputies; and Madier Montjau, Counsellor at Nismes. Orders were also issued to exercise surveillance over Messrs. Jacques Lafitte, Banker; Cassimir Perrier, Banker; Baron Louis, formerly a Minister; Lieutenant-General Count Gerard; Lieutenant-General Dumas; General Lafayette; Destult de Tracy, jun.; and Vatismenil, Minister of State, former Deputies; Colonel Fabvier; Vice-Admiral Truguet, Peer of France; Montalivet, Peer of France; Charles Comte, formerly editor of the *Censeur Euro-*

peen; Barthe, Advocate; and Leon Thiesse, Journalist. Among these will be perceived the names of some of the ablest and most venerated men in France.

To-day there was posted up in all the streets of Paris the following

PLACARD.

"Charles X. can never again enter Paris: he has caused the blood of his people to flow.

"A Republic will expose us to dreadful divisions and cause quarrels with Europe.

"The Duke of Orleans never fought against us.

"The Duke of Orleans was at Jemappe.

"The Duke of Orleans is a Citizen King.

"The Duke of Orleans wore the tri-colored cockade in battle, and he will wear it again—we will have no other.

"The Duke of Orleans has not proclaimed himself, but waits our wishes. Let us proclaim him: he will accept the Charter, and the French people will support his throne."

The Duke of Bourbon (Condé), an aged prince of the blood, who kept at a distance from the court of Charles X., declared his adhesion to his relative the Duke of Orleans, as Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. He was at St Leu, where he resided, on the 28th and 29th July, when the inhabitants, irritated at the ordinances of Charles X., rose and resolved to overthrow the local authorities and the ensigns of royalty. Their first care, however, was to proceed to the residence of the prince, and to assure him that they would respect his person, offering him a guard. To this offer the Prince replied that he was in the midst of Frenchmen; that, being a citizen like them, he had nothing to fear. The next day they returned to him and said,—“Prince, the tri-colored flag is hoisted on all the public monuments and edifices. We should like to hoist it in our Commune.” “My friends,” replied he, fastening a cockade to his button hole, “these colors, which the nation has just adopted, will henceforth be mine, and I shall see them with pleasure at the Hotel of the Mayor; for I shall readily wear them myself.” About three weeks afterwards, in a state of nervous irritation, produced by harassing taunts and reproaches of adherents to Charles X., which the feebleness of age could not sustain, he committed suicide.

Attention was now resumed to the regulation of the metropolis. The duties payable to the city of Paris on the entry of goods and merchandise were re-established. The service of water to the streets and houses was no longer suspended. From the 27th of July to the 4th of August, it was impossible for carts to pass freely, and all merchandise was carried on men's shoulders. The pavement, which in

every street had been simultaneously raised and formed into barricades, was now replaced. The boulevards were, in a great degree, disencumbered from the trees which had been felled, and which time only can repair. The chief loss of these ornaments was from the Rue Montmartre to the Café de la Paix, where not a tree was left.

A Paris letter, dated to day, speaks of the hope and alarm sometimes excited in the city.—“When a drum beats, the Royalists run in doors and the Liberals run out. The former imagine that they are about to guillotined, whilst the latter know it is merely the signal for the assemblage of the National Guards.” There was no ground for fear in either; for there was no enemy. Still, precautions were adopted, and these kept on the alert as many of the people as had taken an active share in the struggle. It was wise to use the unextinguished feelings in the agreeable service of civic duties. They were employed during the day, and in the evening there were the recreations of the boulevards, and the theatres. The Marseillais Hymn had been resumed, and chanted with fervor in every street and almost in every house. It was the earliest and most popular air of the old Revolution, never to be forgotten by men who sung it, or who remembered that their fathers sang it, in the first days of freedom.

The history of music records no production of the science so wonderful in effect as the Marseillais Hymn. When the sword was drawn to cut down the pen—when the sovereigns of Europe combined their armies to conquer France, and the Duke of Brunswick issued a manifesto, threatening to march to Paris—and France without a military force, or a hand to help her, but confiding in the power of her will and the justice of her purpose to be free, indignantly defied the hostility of her insolent invaders—the people sang the Marseillais Hymn, and, shouting “Death or Liberty,” dealt death to the legions of despotism, and won liberty for France. Early in that awful struggle the population of Paris had yielded so largely and frequently to the armies on the frontiers, that the city was emptied of almost every citizen that could bear arms. Fresh levies were imperative, and attempted in vain, until on one particular evening the Marseillais Hymn was sung at every theatre in Paris. All the vocal performers at each house appeared on the stage, and by voice and gesture, and scenic accompaniment, and reference to the victories already achieved, the feelings of the audiences were transported. They sung with the performers, encored, sung again, and when they left the

theatre they still sung. On their way home the different audiences met and joined in the national song. The effect was magical. By day break the next morning 40,000 of the people marched out of Paris, singing the Marseillais Hymn, to join the armies of their country.

The air derives its name from its having been the march played by the band of the Marseillais Deputies on their entrance into the Champ de Mars, at the Grand Confederation of the French people, in 1790. It was the cradle-hymn of new-born liberty. The words were written by M. Rouget Delisle. For five and thirty years the singing of the Marseillais Hymn was prohibited by the ruling factions in France, while it was equally honored by the detestation and opprobrium of tyranny abroad. In the mean time its author lived in obscurity, and survived to witness the present Revolution, and to be sought and honored for his wonder-working words. The Duke of Orleans, on becoming Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, granted a pension of 1500 francs from his private purse to M. Delisle. It was announced by a kind letter from the Duke with this passage—"The Hymn of the Marseillais has revived in the heart of the Duke d'Orleans recollections that are dear to him. He has not forgotten that the author of that patriotic hymn was formerly his companion in arms." There is no passable translation of this production.

THE MARSEILLAIS HYMN.

Allons, enfans de la patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé ;
Contre nous, de la tyrannie
L'étendard sanglant est élevé—
L'étendard sanglant est élevé.
Entendez-vous, dans ces campagnes.
Mugir ces féroces soldats ;
Ils viennent jusques dans vos bras,
Egorger vos fils, vos compagnes.
Aux armes, Citoyens,
Formez vos bataillons ;
Marchez, Marchez,
Qu'un sang impur
Abreuve vos sillons,

Que veut cette horde d'esclaves,
De traitres, de Rois conjurés ?
Pour qui ces ignobles entraves,
Ces fers des long temps préparés ?
Ces fers des long temps préparés ?
Français, pour nous, ah ! quel outrage !
Quels transports il doit exciter !
C'est nous qu'on ose méditer
De rendre à l'antique esclavage.
Aux armes, &c.

Quoi ! des cohortes étrangères,
Feraient la loi dans nos foyers ;
Quoi ! ces phalanges mercenaires,
Terrasseraient nos fiers guerriers ;
Terrasseraient nos fiers guerriers ;
Grand Dieu ! par des mains enchaînées,
Nos fronts sous le joug se ploieraient ;
Des vils despotes deviendraient,
Les maîtres de nos destinées.
Aux armes, &c.

Tremblez, tyrans ! et vous perfides,
L'opprobre de tous les partis—
Tremblez,—vos projets parricides,
Vont, enfin, recevoir leur prix.
Vont, enfin, recevoir leur prix.
Tout est soldat pour vous combattre,
S'ils tombent nos jeunes héros,
La France en produit de nouveaux,
Contre vous tout prêts à se battre.
Aux armes, &c.

Français en guerriers magnanimes,
Portez ou retenez vos coups ;
Épargnez ces tristes victimes,
A regret s'armant contre vous,
A regret s'armant contre vous ;
Mais, les despotes sanguinaires,
Mais, les complices de Bouille
Tous ces tigres, qui sans pitié,
Déchirent le sein de leur mère.
Aux armes, &c.

Amour sacré de la patrie,
Conduis, soutiens nos bras vengeurs ;
Liberté, Liberté ! chérie,
Combats avec tes défenseurs.
Combats avec tes défenseurs,
Sous nos drapeaux, que la victoire
Accoure à tes mâles accents ;
Que tes ennemis expirants,
Voient ton triomphe et notre gloire.
Aux armes, &c.

This evening the Opera House was opened with "La Muetto di Portici," an opera full of sentiments applicable to the battles and other events of last week ; they were applauded with tremendous energy. In a rebellion scene there was a simultaneous demand throughout the house for the Marseillais Hymn. It was sung by the entire strength of the company, the audience enthusiastically joining, and vociferating the chorus. The opera terminated by M. Norritt singing, in the uniform of the National Guard, Casimir Delavigne's song, "La Marche Parisienne." It was received with shouts of delight. Norritt himself had valiantly fought with his fellow citizens, and at the end of the song the audience forced upon him a crown of laurel : he modestly placed it on the tri-colored standard—the noble sentiment which inspired the act raised the feelings of the spectators to the highest rapture.

The following animated version of the popular patriotic effusion of M. Casimir Delavigne, was written for the *Globe* evening newspaper :—

THE PARISIENNE.

Ye men of France ! the patriot brave !
See Freedom spreads her arms again ;
The daring tyrants call'd ye slaves !
Ye answered, we are martial men !
And Paris, in her memory hoary,
Woke in her ancient shout of glory.
To the fight—the fight,
In their guns' despite,
And the clashing sword, and the flashing light,
To the victory of right !
Now close your ranks, heroic men !
On—on ! each cartridge that ye spread
Is incense of a citizen
Upon his country's altar-head.
O day, 'bove other days of story,
When Paris heard her shout of glory !
To the fight, &c.

The grape shots' murderous harvesting
But wakens many an unknown name;
And 'neath the balls—youth's early spring
Ripens to autumn's steady fame.
O, day of bright and splendid story,
When Paris heard her shout of glory!
To the fight, &c.

Who, yonder marshall'd masses through,
Conducts our flags, with life-blood wet?
The saviour of two worlds—the true,
The hoary-headed Lafayette.
O day of fame, of hallowed story,
When Paris heard her shout of glory!
To the fight, &c.

The glorious tints have hither march'd—
Again the blazing columns rise;
And 'midst the clouds sees over-arch'd
Freedom's bright rainbow in the skies.
O day of fame—O pride of story,
When Paris heard the shout of glory!
To the fight, &c.

Thou, soldier of the tri-color—
Orleans!—thy heart's blood thou would'st spill
With ours—for banners borne before,
Which thou art proud to honor still.
As in our brightest days of story,
Thou wilt repeat the cry of glory.
To the fight, &c.

But, hark! the deep funeral drum!
They bear our brethren to their tomb!
And bearing laurel-crowns we come
To shrine them in immortal bloom!
Temple of sorrow and of glory—
Pantheon! guard their sacred story!

We depose them here,
And our brows we bare;
And we say live for ever—while we drop the tear—
Martyrs of victory!

[In the first Edition of these "Annals," the preceding verses were assigned to the *Morning Chronicle*, whence they were extracted, instead of to the *Globe*, in which latter Journal they first appeared.]

THURSDAY, AUGUST 5.

The Chamber of Deputies was chiefly occupied to-day in deciding on the late elections of Members for the Chamber, and in formalities for the final election of its president. In the preliminaries for that office a circumstance of some note occurred. A deputation had waited on the Lieutenant-General to present to him the list of candidates, and on its return reported to the Chamber that the Lieutenant-General had said—"I should have wished that the Chamber had made the nomination directly itself, but we must submit to the law. Of this I shall always give the example. I hope that this will be the last time that this list will be presented to me." This answer excited strong marks of approbation in the Chamber.

In the Chamber of Peers there were no proceedings of consequence.

Lord Cochrane sent to General Lafayette, for the relief of the wounded, 5000 francs from himself, and 5000 from Lady Cochrane.

An incident of rather a ludicrous nature occurred at a church in the neighbourhood of Paris. A curé, not remarkable for his attainments in Latinity, in reading the morning service, was staggered when he came to the word *regem*, in the prayer for the King, and after the words *Domine salvum fac*, abruptly introduced the words *le gouvernement provisoire*.

Prince Talleyrand was this morning amongst the number of persons received by the Duke of Orleans.

The Bourse (Stock Exchange) opened to-day.

Amongst the exiled French Convention-alists whom the new Revolution may probably allow to return to France are—

Siéyes—Formerly a Member of the Assemblée Constituante, of the Convention, and Directory; afterwards a Senator during the empire.

Merlin of Douay—Ex-Procureur General of the Court of Cassation, and author of the "Repository of Jurisprudence."

Berliér—Formerly Councillor of State.

Barrère—Formerly Member of the Committee of Public Safety.

Mailles—Ex-Councillor of the Court of Cassation.

Ingraud—Formerly Member of the Committee of General Safety.

Thiebaudeau—Formerly Councillor of State and Prefect of Marseilles.

Gaultier.

Levasseur of la Sarthe—Author of the "Memoirs of the Convention."

Chazalle—Formerly Prefect of the Lower Pyrenees.

Pocholle—Formerly Sub-Prefect of Neufchatel.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 6.

The proceedings of the Chamber of Deputies to-day were very important.

M. Labbey Pompiere, provisional presi-

dent, opened the sitting by presenting an ordinance of the Lieutenant-General appointing M. Cassimir Perrier President of the Chamber,

in whose absence, from ill health, the chair was taken by M. Lafitte.

The first vice president received from one of the secretaries an open paper, which he read as follows:—

“The Chamber of Deputies accuses of high treason the Ministers who signed the report to the King, and the ordinances, dated the 25th of July, 1830.

“EUSEBE SALVERTE,
“Deputy of the Seine.”

On the left and in the centre there were loud cheers. On the extreme right, a mournful silence was observed.

M. Eusebe Salvete.—This proposition must be submitted to the bureaux, according to the usual form; but as the Chamber, however important this matter may be, has still more important business to settle, I do not wish to address the Chamber in explanation of my proposition, supposing it to need explanation, until the expiration of eight days.

M. Berryer opened the important business of the day by saying—“A solemn compact united the French people to their Monarch. This compact has been broken. The violators of the contract cannot, with any title, claim the execution of it. Charles X. and his son in vain pretend to transmit a power which they no longer possess. That power is washed away by the blood of many thousands of victims. The act of abdication with which you are acquainted is a fresh perfidy. The appearance of legality with which it is closed is a deception. It is a brand of discord which it is wished to throw amongst us. The real enemies of our country, and those who by flattery urged the last government on to its ruin, are stirring in all quarters; they assume all colors, and proclaim all opinions. A desire of indefinite liberty possesses some generous individuals, and the enemies of whom I speak hasten to encourage a sentiment which they are incapable of comprehending, and ultra-royalists appear in the guise of republican regicides. Some others affect to have for the child of the forgotten conqueror of Europe a hypocritical attachment, which would be converted into hate if there could be any question of making him chief of France. The unavoidable instability of the existing means of governing encourages the promoters of discord. Let us hasten, then, to put an end to it. A supreme law,—that of necessity,—has placed arms in the hands of the people of Paris, for the purpose of opposing oppression. This law induced us to adopt for a provisional chief, and as the only means of safety, a Prince who is the sincere friend of constitutional institutions. The same law would lead us to adopt, without delay, a definitive head of our government. But, whatever may

be the confidence with which this chief inspires us, the rights which we are called upon to defend exact from us that we should fix the conditions on which he shall obtain power. Shamefully deceived as we have been repeatedly, it is allowable in us to stipulate severe guarantees. Our institutions are incompatible,—vicious even in many respects. It is fitting that we extend and ameliorate them. The prince who is at our head is already aware of our just wants. The principles of many fundamental laws have been proposed by the Chamber and recognized by him. Other principles, other laws, are not less indispensable, and will likewise be obtained. We are elected by the people. They have confided to us the defence of their interests and the expression of their wants. Their first wants, their dearest interests, are liberty and repose. They have conquered their liberty; it is for us to secure their repose; and we cannot do so except by giving them a stable and just government. It is vainly pretended that by agitating these questions we overstep our rights. I would get rid of that objection, if it were necessary, by referring to the law which I have already invoked—that of imperative, invincible necessity. In this state of things, taking into consideration the grave and pressing situation in which the country is placed, the indispensable necessity which it experiences of changing its precarious position, and the universal wish expressed by France to obtain the completion of her institutions, I have the honor to propose the following Resolutions:—

“The Chamber of Deputies, taking into consideration, with a view to the public interests, the imperative necessity which results from the events of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of July last, and the following days, and the general situation of France, declare, 1st., that the throne is vacant, and that it is indispensably necessary to provide for that circumstance.

“The Chamber of Deputies declares, 2ndly, that, according to the wish and for the interest of the people of France, the preamble and following articles of the Constitutional Charter should be suppressed or modified in the manner here pointed out.—”

M. Berryer then detailed the proposed suppressions or modifications. Among the provisions were—the suppression of the article on the religion of the state—that the King is the supreme chief of the state, he commands the forces by land and sea, declares war, makes treaties of peace, of alliance, and commerce, nominates to all employments in the public administration, and frames the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws, and for the safety of the

state, all under the responsibility of his ministers—laws of impost to originate in the Chamber of Deputies—peers to sit in their chamber and vote at twenty-five years of age—princes of the blood peers by right of birth—sittings of the Chambers of Peers to be public—deputies to be elected for five years—deputies and electors to be twenty-five years of age—the President of the Chamber of Deputies to be elected by the Chamber, and continue in office whilst the Chamber lasts—no commission or extraordinary tribunals to be created under any denomination whatsoever—"the King and his successors shall swear, at their accession (instead of in the solemnity of their coronation) faithfully to observe the present Constitutional Charter: the present Charter, and all the rights which it consecrates, will remain confided to the patriotism and courage of the National Guards, and all citizens."

M. Berryer—"The Chamber of Deputies declares, 3dly, that it is necessary to provide successively, by separate laws, and with the shortest delay possible,—

"1. For the extension of the trial by jury to *correctionnel* offences, and particularly to those of the press;

"2. For the responsibility of Ministers and the secondary agents of power;

"3. For the re-elections of deputies raised to public offices;

"4. For the annual vote for the contingency of the army;

"5. For the organization of the National Guard, with the intervention of the National Guards in the choice of their officers;

"6. For a military code, establishing in a legal manner the condition of officers of all ranks;

"7. For the departmental and municipal administration, with the intervention of citizens in their formation;

"8. For public instruction and the liberty of teaching;

"9. For the abolition of the double vote, and for the establishment of electoral conditions, and eligibility.

"And, besides, that all the nominations and new creations of peers made during the reign of Charles X. be declared null and void." (Very warm marks of approbation on the left and the centre left.)

"In consideration of these conditions being accepted, the Chamber of Deputies finally declares that the universal and pressing interest of the French people calls to the throne his Royal Highness Philip of Orleans, Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and his descendants in perpetuity, from male to male, in the order of primoge-

niture, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.

"In consequence, his Royal Highness Louis Philip of Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, shall be invited to accept and swear to the clauses and engagements above announced, to the observance of the Charter, and the modifications stated; and, after having done so, take the title of *King of the French*." (Loud cheers.)

M. Hyde de Neuville.—Will the Chamber hear these propositions discussed immediately?

A voice on the right.—They completely overthrow the Charter.

The Vice President.—At present nothing can be done but to send these propositions to the bureaux.

M. Aug. Perrier was of opinion that the propositions should be maturely considered. The committee appointed to draw up the address would necessarily have to discuss a portion of the fundamental questions. It was unnecessary to do any thing with precipitation. They could not forget the celebrated revolution of 1688, which gave to the English the same benefit which the French nation was about to enjoy. The English Parliament at that period, without forgetting the situation in which it was placed, without suffering itself to be led away by honorable desires or laudable intentions, adopted the wisest measures. He believed that, notwithstanding the prejudices and the fears which he was astonished to see occasionally expressed in the public journals, the Chamber would not be wanting either to itself or to the people; and that, profiting by victory without abusing it, it would answer the just expectations of the one party without justifying the apprehensions of the other. He proposed that the project just read should be sent to the bureaux, and afterwards submitted to the committee for framing the address.

M. Eusebe Salverte thought that a special committee should be appointed.

M. Hyde de Neuville said, he abstained from speaking now, because these important questions would be maturely examined in the bureaux. He therefore hoped that no one would condemn him for his silence.

M. Mathieu Dumas, as a member of the address committee, stated that the members of the committee had no idea that they were to be charged with the consideration of such important propositions as those just submitted to the Chamber. It was not the object of their appointment. He therefore thought that a special committee should be appointed to consider such important and salutary propositions.

M. Etienne wished a new committee to be appointed instantly.

M. Villemain.—The proceedings of this Chamber cannot be in vain. You have appointed an address committee: that committee is not charged with effecting merely a sort of ceremonial. In a certain respect its functions are elevated with the immensity of the circumstances in which we are placed. I think, then, that it was called upon by its first nomination to discuss beforehand some of the questions included in the propositions submitted to the Chamber. If the committee restricted itself to discussing only the questions which were presented to us in the speech delivered in this place a few days ago, what would result from it? An incomplete labor, worthy neither of the Chamber nor of the committee. The hon. deputy then expressed a wish that a special committee for the consideration of the propositions should be united with the address committee ("To the vote.")

M. Demarcay said it was proposed to preserve the Charter with the modifications mentioned—("Yes, yes"); but it would be necessary to make much more important modifications still. The Charter contained dispositions which were adverse to the French people, to their opinion, to their interests. That consideration induced him strongly to oppose the proposition which had been submitted. (*Violent murmurs*).

Many voices—"Allow the spirit of the Charter to remain."

M. Demarcay.—I consent that conditions should be offered, and that upon acceding to those conditions the Lieutenant-General should be proclaimed King of the French; but I can never see retained in the Charter dispositions which are adverse to the national wish and the interest of the country.

Several voices—"That is not the question."

After some further discussion the proposition of appointing a special committee, to examine the articles presented by M. Berryer, was carried by a great majority, composed of the left and centre left, and a part of the centre right. The remainder of the centre right and the extreme right did not vote one way or the other.

The proposal for joining the two committees was carried by a majority rather less numerous, fifteen or twenty of the extreme left having voted against it.

The deputies then retired into the bureaux, and, when they returned, the Vice-President stated that the following members had been nominated to the special committee:—M. Berryer, M. Perrier (Augustin), M. Humann, M. Benjamin Delessert, M. Count de Sade, M. Count de Sebastiani, M. Bertin de Veaux, M. Count de Bondy, and M. de Tracy.

On the motion of M. Keratry, the Chamber adjourned to eight o'clock in the evening.

At the sitting in the evening large assemblages of young men went to the court, before the Chamber of Deputies, in order, as they declared, to protest against the acknowledgment of an hereditary peerage. They formed a double line, and, when a deputy passed, saluted him with cries of "Down with the hereditary peerage!" At the same time the whole group took off their hats, and mingled with their cries "Long live the deputies!" "Honor to the deputies!" The disorder increased, and many orators appeared. Several confused groups were formed within the Chamber, in the space in front of the tribune.

M. Aug. Perrier entered the Chamber evidently agitated. He said to one of the groups, "You announced this yesterday, and it is realised to-day. Let us propose the adjournment of every deliberation until the mob disperse, and the tumult be appeased." M. Benjamin Constant went to the outer door and addressed the people. He said, "We defended your rights and we were in a minority. It is not necessary that now the minority should oppress the only authority, although provisional, which remains in existence."

M. Lafitte, the vice-president, took the chair. General Lafayette conversed with him, and afterwards went out upon the steps and addressed the people. After bearing testimony to their noble conduct, he said, "I am entitled to your attention, because the opinions that have induced you to come here are my own. I know how to support them, while I fear you may fall into errors. Permit me, in addition to so many motives, to require you to consider my personal feelings. I have engaged my honor that no disturbance shall interrupt the proceedings of the Chamber. If the Deputies should be interrupted, and any painful scenes pass at the doors, I shall be as it were responsible. It is with me a point of honor, and I place my honor under the protection of your friendship." This had the desired effect, and the group dispersed, singing the Marseillais hymn.

The Vice-President informed the Chamber that the two Committees had examined M. Berryer's proposition, and would report upon it at nine o'clock. In the mean time he begged to inform them that M. Guizot, the Provisional Minister for the Interior, had, by order of the Lieutenant-General, sent him a copy of the act of abdication of Charles X. and the Dauphin, which he desired to be communicated to the Chamber.—(A great number of voices—"We do not want it: it is an act of no consequence.")

After some discussion respecting the act of abdication of Charles X., it was resolved to deposit it in the archives of the Chamber, contrary to the opinion of some Members, who would have passed to the order of the day, considering that act as in itself a nullity.

On the motion of M. Bavoux, it was resolved that the thanks of the Chamber should be given to the city of Paris, and that the Lieutenant-General should be invited to provide for the erection of a monument, worthy to transmit to posterity the remembrance of the events which it would be destined to preserve.—“To the City of Paris, the Grateful Country.”

M. Dupin, Sen., Reporter of the Committee, said—“I obey your Committee, and the just impatience of the Chamber, by presenting to you its report. I do not intend to add anything to the excellent reason so ably developed by the author of the proposal (namely, M. Berryer's proposal to revise the Charter). I shall speak to you only of the modifications made by the Committee on the proposal itself. The Committee has unanimously recognized the vacancy of the throne; but, at the same time that it recognizes it as a fact, it has thought it its duty to declare it as a right emanating from the legitimate resistance of the people to the violation of its rights. For these fifteen years we have been the victims of violation, sometimes of the letter, and sometimes of the spirit of the Charter.” After mentioning alterations proposed by the Committee respecting Religion, the Press, the Elections, the prohibition of extraordinary tribunals, and other points suggested by M. Berryer in his speech, M. Dupin concluded by saying—“The 74th article has undergone an important modification; it is in the presence of the Peers and the Deputies that the King at his accession will swear to observe the laws confided to the patriotism of the National Guard. The article on the Chamber of Peers has drawn our attention. That Chamber, the protector of the laws, ceased to fulfil its duties on the creation of the seventy-six new Peers: it seems to us that the Chamber of Peers ought to annul those nominations. The last part of the proposal has for its object to found a new establishment in favor of a Noble Prince.

This Prince is an honest man; if he swears the observance of the Charter, it will be a truth. We act under the influence of a great necessity, and our decisions will be hailed by the public gratitude. The Chamber of Deputies, taking into consideration the urgency of the occasion, and the events of the 26th, 27th, and 28th of July, declares that the preamble of the Charter is suppressed, and that the other articles may be modified as follows:”—

M. Dupin then read the proposal, as amended by the Committee.

After some further debate it was resolved to adjourn the discussions till to-morrow.

On the proposition for calling the Duke of Orleans to the throne, a French journal makes these judicious observations—

“It is said that the Chamber of Deputies are to offer to the Lieutenant-General the Crown of France, with the conditions on which the country consents to nominate him their head. This seems to us high and firm policy. Some persons dispute the power of the Chamber. However, it is undoubted that this Chamber, legally elected, represents the real opinion of the electors; and it is for the indirect defence of this principle that we have struggled. We say to the dissentients ‘In the danger of firing and balls did you see any leaders legally chosen? Did not each receive his mandate from his courage? Did not he act the best who defended the cause with the greatest ardor and talent?’

“We have another danger at this moment. The friends of the republic, men of pure and generous feeling, publicly call upon their followers; the partisans of a sinking power may find recruits. One only prompt expeditious mode of cutting short the wild measures of the one and the intrigues of the other, is to choose a chief, and that him whom France demands. Let our deputies propose the conditions; let him sign them, and let him be king. Legitimate power is that which comprises the state of the public mind, the urgencies of the epoch, and will devote itself to satisfy them. The French people have shown their greatness, and are too just to reproach any authority for having usurped the right of saving the state.”

SATURDAY, AUGUST 7.

To day the sitting of the Chambers of Deputies was still more important than the sitting of yesterday.

At eleven o'clock the President took the chair.

The chamber of Peers, by a message, in-

formed the Chamber of Deputies that it was regularly formed by the election of its Officers.

The Order of the Day was the debate upon the Articles proposed yesterday.

M. de Conny.—In the terrible circumstances in which we are placed, freedom of debate is more than ever a sacred law. I come forward at the voice of my conscience; silence would be cowardice. Social order is shaken to its foundations. These tumultuous commotions, which suddenly suspend the action of the legitimate powers instituted to establish order in society, are epochs of calamity which exercise upon the destiny of nations the most fatal influence. Inexorable history, rising above contemporary passions, will impress upon these lamentable days the character which belongs to them, and the cry of human conscience is raised to consecrate this eternal truth—*force constitutes no right*. In these times of trouble, liberty is invoked; but the expression of thought has ceased to be free. Liberty is stifled by the sanguinary cries which carry alarm in every direction. You will not suffer yourselves to be subjugated by the cries which resound around you. Statesmen, remain calm in the midst of perils, and when confused voices call to France the son of Napoleon—invoke the Republic—and proclaim the Duke of Orleans—unshaken in your duties, you will remember your oaths, and acknowledge the sacred rights of the Royal Infant, which, after so many misfortunes, Providence has given to France. Think of the judgment of posterity—it would be terrible. You would not wish that history should say you were faithless to your oaths. The eyes of Europe are upon us. We have too long exhibited to her a spectacle of strange instability; too long have we changed sides, as often as victory changed colors. Brought back to truth by misfortune, let us remain calm in the midst of so many turbulent passions, and let us bestow our respect and tears upon great and royal misfortunes. By remaining faithful to our duties, I wish to spare our country all the calamities and crimes consequent upon usurpations. Viewing with an anxious mind the destiny of France, I perceive, Gentlemen, the twofold scourge of civil and foreign war threatening our noble country; I perceive liberty disappearing for ever; I perceive French blood flowing, and this blood would recoil upon our heads. The consideration of the principle of Legitimacy, of this principle established by the Charter, can alone preserve our country from this fearful destiny. All France is bound by oaths; the army, ever faithful, will bend their arms before the young King; I call to witness our national honor. Let us not exhibit to the world the scandal of perjury. In the

presence of the sacred rights of the Duc de Bourdeaux, the act which should raise the Duke of Orleans to the throne would be a violation of all human laws. As a Deputy, remembering my oaths before God, who will judge us, I have declared the whole truth. I should have forfeited the esteem of my adversaries, if, in the perils which surround us, I had remained silent. I declare the sentiments which animate me in the face of Heaven; I would express them at the cannon's mouth. If the principle of Legitimacy be not recognised by the Charter, I must declare that I have no right to participate in the deliberations which are submitted to you.

M. Benjamin Constant said that, though there was still some agitation among the people, it was not sufficient to excite any alarm. Proceeding to the question, he said, we want a Prince of a different character from him whose acts have been so deplorable and afflicting. I will not anticipate the discussion, but I cannot refrain from saying that we want a citizen prince, who has fought in our ranks and worn our colors. Legitimacy, in its ordinary acceptation, can no longer be invoked; there is, in truth, no Legitimacy but that which is derived from the people and the laws. All Europe knows that we are resolved to be free. We have no hostility against any nation. Proof of this will be found in the moderation we have displayed after the victory. I abhor and abjure Legitimacy, which has dyed our streets with the blood of our citizens.

M. Hyde de Neuville.—I judge nobody. In politics, as in religion, all consciences are not subject to the same influences. Men seeking what is good may follow different directions. Each of us follows his conscience: mine is my only guide. If you do not partake of my sentiments, you will not refuse me your esteem. I have done every thing which a Frenchman could do to prevent the calamities which we have experienced. (*Assent*). I have been faithful to my oaths; I have not betrayed that family which false friends have precipitated into an abyss. (*Cheers*). I should contradict my life, and dishonor myself, by changing my sentiments were I to assent to the propositions. With my hand upon my heart I cannot but reject the dangerous sovereignty which the committee proposes to establish. The measure which you are going to take is very serious, and ought to have been subjected to longer examination. It seems to me that it would be dangerous to rest the future destinies of a great people on the impressions of a moment. I have not received from heaven the power to arrest the thunder-bolt. To the acts which are proposed to be

consummated I can but oppose my wishes. I shall put up very sincere prayers for the repose and liberty of my country.

M. Alex. de Laborde.—Do you know, gentlemen, what would be the consequence of recognising the legitimacy of the Duke of Bourdeaux? It would be to subject the virtuous prince whom we wish to place upon the throne, as well as his family, to bow his head before that child whose presence would remind us only of crimes and misfortunes. If you desire to attach yourselves to an Historical Legitimacy, the prince, whom we are anxious to seat upon the throne, descends more directly than the fallen King from the monarch whose memory the people cherish.

M. Lezardiere.—As deputy I have sworn fidelity to the king and to the Constitutional Charter; and, having consulted my conscience, I feel myself bound, together with every true Frenchman, to pay a tribute of gratitude to the prince who has concurred in maintaining tranquillity. I cannot go further, and change the order of succession; for I foresee heavy clouds of misfortune hanging over France if the Chamber changes this order.

M. Eusebe Salverte.—I am sensible of the full extent of the duties imposed upon me this day. They have been augmented by existing circumstances, and I do not hesitate to incur all the responsibility that may fall upon me from the votes I give. The Hon. Deputy then came to the matter in question, which he illustrated by referring to the course pursued by England in 1688.

M. Pas de Beaulieu.—The sacred law of my country teaches me that the Duke of Orleans is capable, beyond all others, of restoring peace and happiness to France; but I have not been commissioned by my constituents to pronounce upon this question. I therefore refrain.

M. Anisson du Pevron.—The *arrondissement* I represent is desirous of a monarchy purely Constitutional. The gift is indeed valuable, but our new King will make us a more valuable return; he will present to us peace and liberty, which are not less difficult to preserve than to gain.

M. Arthur de la Bourdonnaye.—More than any other, I mourn the broken social compact, but this is not a reason that its fragments should be trampled under our feet. If it is to be reformed, or modified, it can only be done by the three powers united. (Interruption). If the discussion is to be conducted in this manner, the Chamber will not be astonished at our silence, and remaining immovable upon our seats. (Several voices — *Be it as you please.*)

M. Letou.—I have been, gentlemen, as well

as yourselves, attached to the dynasty; but I was far from imagining that infamous ministers were silently plotting the ruin of our liberties, and preparing against us lists of proscriptions. We have arrived at the point, where we at this moment find ourselves, through seas of blood, which have overwhelmed Legitimacy.

M. Berryer.—I am as sincerely attached as any man can be to our public liberties—I am as fully inspired with the love of my country—I equally feel the want of repose and security for all. I think, nevertheless, that the proposition, as settled by the report, should be divided. I admit that modifications are necessary, but, as to the exercise of supreme powers, I have referred to my conscience, and I cannot believe I am warranted in voting that the throne is vacant both in fact and law, and in usurping the right of electing a new King for France. I, therefore, feel it my duty to abstain.

M. Villemain.—Montesquieu has said, "During a frightful calm all combine against the power that violates the laws." With us it was not a frightful calm that followed the irrevocable deed which hurled the King from his throne. Public authority was broken to pieces by the thunders of the people's wrath. The necessity of restoring public order calls to the throne the Prince Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. Let a public act proclaim our independence, and stipulating guarantees for the stability of order, and protecting it against all vengeance or re-action, be at once prepared. It is thus that the throne may be nobly and securely offered to the Duke of Orleans.

The President then read the first paragraph of the Report.

M. Podemos proposed the following amendment:—"The throne is vacant in consequence of the violation of the Charter and the laws." He drew a striking picture of the events which led to the fall of the ex-King, who, he said, was the worthy heir of Charles the IXth's ferocity, and had not the courage to show himself in the hour of danger.

M. de Martignac.—I feel compelled to raise, in behalf of a family plunged in misfortune, a voice which forbade it to go to the height of its power. I could not hear, without deep sorrow, the words that fell from the last speaker. Ah! gentlemen, I, who knew this prince intimately, cannot hear him accused of ferocity without indignation. (Cheers from the right.) No, gentlemen, this man was not ferocious—he was deceived. (Ah! ah!) It was not his heart which dictated the infamous ordinances. They were the work of those perfidious councillors whom I abandon to you. Let not your in-

dignation be raised against him. Ah! believe me, gentlemen, believe me, who have lived in close intercourse with him, that the love of his country animated his heart. (Murmurs from the extreme left.) I am not astonished at the truly heroic resistance which has been provoked by these infamous ordinances; for I do not hesitate to call them so: but I ask again, after power is humbled, why utter words which will give additional pangs to a heart already crushed by misfortune? I do not know, gentlemen, whether I have followed the rules of prudence and moderation—(Oh! Oh!)—It was my heart that spoke.

M. Bernard.—You have applauded what has been said by M. de Martignac; in France, the defence of misfortune will always be heard with favor. But, on the other hand, we could not with indifference hear it stated that the heart of Charles glowed with the sacred fire of love for his country. The sceptre in his hand was the sign of protection; and he broke it in pieces upon his people. No! he never cherished the love of his country. (Loud cheers.)

M. Alexis de Noailles.—I support what M. Martignac has said, and will mention one fact. When it was proposed to revoke the ordinances which had been the cause of the carnage, you all know, gentlemen, who replied, and took the results upon himself; it was not the sovereign—it was the Minister. (Numerous voices—"Oh, oh! what a subterfuge!")

The first paragraph of the report was adopted. It runs thus:—"The Chamber of Deputies, taking into consideration the imperious necessity which results from the events of July 26, 27, 28, and 29, and regarding the situation in which France is placed at the end of the violation of the constitutional charter;—considering, besides, that in consequence of this violation, and the heroic resistance of the citizens of Paris, his Majesty King Charles X., Louis Antoine his son, and all the members of the eldest branch of the Bourbons, are leaving the territory,—declare that the throne is vacant in fact and in law (*en fait et en droit*) and that it is indispensably necessary that it should be provided for."

M. Persil proposed, by way of amendment, to declare that "The sovereignty belongs to the nation: it is inalienable and imprescriptible."

The President observed that this provision was comprised in this paragraph:—"The Chamber of Deputies declares that, according to the wish, and for the interest of the French people, the preamble of the constitutional charter is suppressed as injurious to the national dignity, by appearing to grant,

to the French people, rights which essentially belong to them."

The article concerning the support of the ministers of the Catholic religion was then discussed.

M. Viennet.—In the number of Frenchmen are included 150,000 Israelites, citizens like ourselves; like us they render homage to the Sovereign, and defend their country and liberty; it is an odious prejudice which excludes them. I therefore demand that the article be thus amended:—"The ministers of every form of worship, legally recognized shall be supported by the public treasure."

A warm conversation ensued. An amendment by M. Marschall was adopted, which renders the article as follows:—"The ministers of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion, professed by the majority of Frenchmen, together with those of other Christian doctrines, shall be supported at the public expense."

The article relating to the Press was voted unanimously, with the following amendment:—"Frenchmen have the right of publishing and printing their opinions, in conformity to the laws. The censorship shall never be re-established."

On the article regulating the Royal prerogative, M. Jacqueminot proposed the following addition, which was immediately adopted by acclamation:—"Nevertheless, no foreign troops can ever be admitted into the service of the state without an express law."

M. Devaux proposed an amendment to submit treaties of peace and declarations of war to the two Chambers. This was rejected.

M. Jacqueminot proposed that from the article declaring that "the legislative power is collectively exercised by the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies of Departments," the words "of Departments" be omitted, which amendment was carried.

Other articles were discussed and agreed to. By an article of the Commission—"No deputy can be admitted into the Chamber who is not of the age of thirty, and uniting qualifications required by the law." M. Villemain pressed to fix the age of eligibility at twenty-five, which amendment, after a brief discussion, was rejected; as was also another, by M. de la Rochefoucauld, for lowering the qualification.

Several succeeding articles were agreed to without discussion.

The article of the Commission, "That the King and his successors shall in future swear, in the presence of the assembled Chambers, to observe faithfully the present Constitu-

tional Charter," was carried without discussion.

Another article of the Commission—"The present Charter, and all the rights which it consecrates, remain confided to the patriotism and courage of the National Guard and all the citizens of France"—was adopted with acclamation.

Special provisions proposed by the Commission remained to be considered next—viz.

"All the creations of peers during the reign of Charles X. are declared null and void.

"And, in order to prevent the recurrence of the abuses which have destroyed the principle of the establishment of the peerage, the article (27 of the Commission) which gives to the King an unlimited faculty of creating peers shall be submitted to a revision in the course of the session of 1831."

M. Berard required that the right of provision should be full and unrestrained, so that not only the recurrence of the abuses complained of might be rendered impossible, but that the hereditary principle might be submitted to examination.

General Lafayette then mounted the tribune, and a profound silence prevailed. He said, "On ascending this tribune, at this solemn juncture, I do not yield to any momentary excitement. I will not seek here a popularity which I shall never prefer to my duties. (Cheers.) The republican sentiments which I have manifested in all times and under all powers are well known: but these sentiments do not prevent me from being the defender of a constitutional throne, raised by the will of the nation. The same sentiments animate me under the present circumstances, in which it is judged fitting to elevate to the constitutional throne the Prince Lieutenant-General; and I am bound to avow that the choice coincides with my own desires, the more in proportion as I know him more. (Cheers!) I do not share the opinion of many of my fellow citizens with respect to hereditary Peerage. (Hear, hear.) I have always thought it was necessary that legislative bodies should be divided into two chambers differently constituted; but I never thought it useful to create hereditary legislators, who are in certain cases judges. I have always thought that the introduction of aristocracy into a public institution was a bad ingredient. It is, therefore, with great pleasure that I find you engaged in a measure conformable to sentiments which I have all my life declared, and which I can now only repeat. My conscience forces me to repeat this opinion, and it is with pleasure that I hope shortly to see the hereditary peerage suppressed. My fellow-citizens will do me the

justice to acknowledge that, if I have always been the supporter of liberty, I have always been the supporter of public order. (Loud cheers.)

M. Berryer.—Two questions occupy the Chamber at this moment—the proposition of M. Berard, and the amendment proposed against the hereditary peerage. With regard to the amendment, I oppose the method already adopted by you. I demand the previous question. It is not the time to discuss the question of the peerage; but we must not lose sight of M. Berard's proposition. As to the question of inheritance, it is not possible to pronounce the annulling of the acts done by virtue of the laws and the Constitutional Charter.

M. Peton voted for the amendment, and urged the necessity of putting an end to the agitation which prevailed in Paris.

M. A. Labourdonnaie.—You insult Paris.

M. Peton.—I know Paris and its wishes better than you for these six years. I contend for legality, and you—if my efforts had been crowned with success, Charles X. would still be upon the throne.

M. Sebastiani seconded the amendment.

M. Berryer still opposed it, and contended that to the King alone belonged the right of creating or deposing peers.

M. Bernard.—The gentleman who spoke last seems to have mistaken the atmosphere of the Chamber. The throne has been overthrown. Legitimacy no longer exists. As to hereditary peerage, we are not sufficiently prepared for the discussion. I propose to replace the article and the amendment by the following:—

"Article 27 of the Charter (on the King's right to create peers) shall be the subject of a fresh examination in the session of 1831."

M. B. Constant seconded the amendment, and it was adopted.

The first paragraph, nullifying the peers of Charles X., was adopted.

M. de Brigue proposed the following additional article: "The Judges shall receive a new institution before January 1st, 1831" (much agitation).

M. Guetan de la Rochefoucauld required that they should not confound the appointments made during the ministry of M. Portalis, with those made by M. de Polignac, and moved the previous question.

M. Benjamin Constant opposed the previous question; and required that M. Brigue should be heard.

The President read the following amendment proposed by M. Mauguin:—"The present Magistrates shall cease their functions in six months from the present time, if before that period they do not re-

ceive new appointments" [on the left supported].

M. de Brigode.—The irremovability of the Magistracy ought not to be separated from the hereditary right of the Crown—the former is a necessary result of the latter; but, if there shall be a change in the race, there is a rupture of all legitimacies. It was in virtue of this principle that at the restoration (of Louis XVIII.) a new appointment of Judges took place. At present the circumstances are identical: and let it be remarked that there will be no inconvenience from the proposition we make; for the present Judges will continue to dispense justice till a decision is come to with respect to them; but the character of irremovability cannot be given to them but by the new King of the French.

M. Dupin (Senior).—When we are endeavouring to settle France, and desire to avoid every political shock, it would in my opinion be very imprudent to meddle with the institution of the magistracy—the only organized body that we possess at this moment. I do not deny that amongst them may be found some improper selections, and that often they have desired to connect themselves with party excesses by a melancholy exercise of power. I know, too, that every one of the Governments which have succeeded each other in France has wished to make itself master of the judicial influence by its own appointments; but it is necessary that our conduct at present should be different from what it was at former periods on this point as on many others. Our object is to put an end to a troublesome agitation; do not let us make it more troublesome. I could conceive that we should run the risk, if there was any urgent necessity for this measure; but let us make good appointments in the law officers of the Crown; let us suppress the *juges-auditeurs*; let us fill up with discernment existing vacancies, and those which may arise, and we shall have sufficient guarantees, with the immense advantage of giving to the present change the particular characteristic that it in nowise resembles a re-action. You may, moreover, reckon on the influence of the atmosphere which surrounds the Magistracy; and which has, in itself, I know not what sort of magic, that gives to them the inspiration of justice. Above all, remember, if there are some men so base as to do evil when they are commanded, they will be much more ready to do good when it is required of them.

M. Eusebe Salverte proposed to submit to a new appointment the Magistrates appointed during the reign of Charles X. Gentlemen, he said, since you have meddled with the

Peerage, you can also change the Magistracy and never was a wiser measure. We have seen the Courts condemn the public papers for having calumniated the Ministers, in attributing to them the project of committing *Coups d'Etat*; and you are sensible whether they could or not be calumniated, while the same Courts were acquitting or sentencing to trifling punishments the men who, every day, endeavoured to bring about a counter Revolution. You have been told that there are amongst the Judges honorable men—let them remain. You have been made to fear that you may stop the administration of justice; but remember that we have arrived nearly at the holidays, and that never were the circumstances more favorable to effect a reform without causing a shock.

M. Villemain.—If it were necessary to add any thing to what has been said by an eloquent representative of the judicial defence, I might observe that when the Magistrates know that they are only indebted for the continuance of their offices to an effort that we make against ourselves, and only for the sake of stability, the necessity of which we all feel, they will only be the more disposed to proceed with the present movement; and the effect at which you wish to arrive will be produced by the words which have been pronounced at the Tribune. In 1815 that was demanded which you now demand, and then some generous voices were raised against the measure; those voices which defended fallen royalty, and liberty which will not fall. It is this irremovability which is strength to the weak, and renders the selections that are objectionable excellent; and it is the less contrary to the present order of things, inasmuch as the courts have nothing to do with politics. (Dissent.) At least they ought not to have, and they will henceforward not have, because you are about to assign to a jury the power of judging the crimes of the Press. This irremovability has already produced good fruit. In the midst of many lamentable decisions, have you not known the *Cours Royales*, when other authorities were silent, declare that to suppose in the Ministers the intention of being guilty of *coups d'etat* was to suppose in them monstrous and criminal projects, and to designate them as capable of committing crimes. If the Judges had been provisional, do you suppose that they would have decided with so much vigor? Above all, do not forget that in England the Judges were irremovable, who dared to refuse illegal taxes to Cromwell, as well as to Charles II. Do not proclaim, I beg of you, the abolition of the conservative principle. (Several voices, "Never, Never.")

M. Manguin.—Gentlemen, when you are

engaged in such important business as that now before you, you ought not to decide by any considerations derived from sentiments.

M. de Villemain (warmly).—These are not considerations derived from sentiments but from justice.

The President.—You ought not to interrupt.

M. de Mauguin.—You are, gentlemen—do not forget it—you are the product of a Revolution, and you organize a Revolution. Will you establish on the one hand, and leave on the other the germs of destruction? The principle ought to be followed out in all its consequences. A fortnight ago you were under the empire of Legitimacy, and of Divine Right. Now you are acting in virtue of, and under the influence of the principle of National Sovereignty. When you place it on the summit, do not leave at the base the consequences of a hostile principle. (Lively sensation.) Do you think that those who have been appointed under the Empire of Divine Right, and the Congregation, will aid us in sustaining the principle of National Sovereignty? When a Revolution has been effected in the highest parts, it ought to go through all the subordinate ranks. (Murmurs in the centre.—M. Mauguin repeated the phrase without being affected, and in the midst of applause from the left side). What is this irremovability? It is the certainty of not being dismissed as long as the principle of Government lasts under which the appointment is made. Charles X. could only promise irremovability as long as his race was on the throne. The irremovability instituted by the Charter of Louis XVIII. could only last as long as that Charter. The irremovability ceases since the Charter is overthrown. (Many voices: "No, no!") In the name of God, gentlemen, let us not dispute about words—compare—look at the changes, and say if the Charter of Louis XVIII. still exists. In 1814 every thing was renewed in the Magistracy. (Dissent). The Judges were appointed for a fixed period, and they were refused the Royal sanction before the expiration of that period. You are told to be aware of giving yourselves up to a movement of re-action; but I ask, when the force applied has been so violent, is not re-action a matter of right? Are you ignorant what the courts have dared to undertake? Learn, then, gentlemen, that eight days ago, in consequence of an extraordinary decree of the Cour Royale at Caen, which declared the form of oath of 1815 obligatory—that is to say, declared the necessity of acknowledging Ordinances and regulations—that one of your colleagues, M. Mercier, President of the

Tribunal de Commerce of Alençon, was obliged to appear before the Court of Correctional Police, because he would not adopt that form of oath. (Agitation). You have been told with confidence of that atmosphere of justice which surrounds the magistrates. He who told you of this has no doubt experienced its effects; but I must say that his situation is very different from mine, for I must say that even in civil causes political opinions have exercised a considerable influence. (Sudden interruption).

M. Dupin signified dissent. A member near him cried out, with a loud voice, "At Paris it is possible that it may not be so, but nothing is more true in the provinces."

M. Madier de Montjau.—It is not only the irremovability of the Magistrates which is attacked, but the regulation of the Magistrates of France; they are calumniated (murmurs)—they are unintentionally calumniated. (Murmurs redoubled). M. Madier de Montjau, in the midst of interruptions and conversation among the Deputies, terminated his discourse by strongly opposing the amendment.

The amendment of M. Brigode was rejected by a majority composed of a small compact number who sat on the right, and of members in the two centres. It was supported by forty members on the left side.

The amendment of M. Eusebe Salverte, to submit to new appointments the Magistrates appointed under Charles X., was rejected by the same majority.

The Chamber of Deputies declared and resolved, thirdly, that it was necessary to provide successively by separate laws, and in the shortest method possible, for several very important objects. (These are at the end of the "Declaration of Rights" presented by the Chamber to the Duke of Orleans.)

M. de Padenas proposed to apply the jury to political offences as well as the offences of the press.—Adopted.

M. E. Salverte proposed that "all laws and ordinances contrary to the reformation of the Charter be null and void."—Adopted.

The President read as follows:—"Upon condition of accepting these dispositions and propositions, the Chamber of Deputies declares that the universal and pressing interest of the French people calls to the throne His Royal Highness Louis Philippe d'Orleans, Duc d'Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and his descendants in perpetuity, from male to male in the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of the female branches and their descendants."

The President proposed to vote by ballot on the whole of the report, and that it should be presented to His Royal Highness, not by

a deputation, but their whole Chamber in a body.

M. Etienne moved, and the Chamber decided, "That no address should be carried up in answer to the speech of the Duke of Orleans, as the Declaration they were about to present would be the best address that could be offered to him."

M. Dupin, Sen., proposed, "France resumes her colors. In future no other cockade shall be worn but the tri-colored one."—Adopted with acclamations.

The Chamber then proceeded to the ballot upon the whole of the articles previously agreed to, and forming the Declaration.

The result of the scrutiny:—Number of voters, 252; white balls, 219; black balls, 33.—Majority, 186.

M. Le President.—The Chamber is now going immediately on foot to convey this message; we shall be accompanied by the brave National Guard. To go in order, I beg the Deputies to walk four and four abreast. There will be no sitting to-morrow (Sunday). On Monday, at noon, a public sitting.

The Chamber of Peers had met at two o'clock, and, after routine business, adjourned till nine o'clock in the evening. There were then 114 peers present, and the Chamber received a communication of the Declaration of Rights adopted by the Chamber of Deputies. Several peers briefly remarked upon it, and M. de Chateaubriand delivered a remarkable speech.

M. de Chateaubriand.—"The declaration brought to this Chamber is much less complicated with respect to me than to those who profess an opinion different from mine. One fact in the Declaration predominates in my eyes over every other, or rather supercedes them. Were we under a regular order of things, I should doubtless carefully examine the changes proposed in the Charter. Many of these changes have been proposed by myself. I am, however, astonished that the re-actionary measures respecting the Peers created by Charles X. should be proposed to this Chamber. I cannot be suspected of any liking for these *batches*, and you know that I combated even the menace of them: but to render us the judges of our colleagues,—to erase from the list of Peers whom we please, whenever we happen to be the stronger party,—too much resembles a proscription. Is it wished to suppress the peerage? So be it. Better lose life than beg for it. I reproach myself for these few words on a point which, important as it is, disappears amidst the greatness of the event.

France is without a guide, and I am called upon to consider what ought to be added to or taken from the masts of a vessel which has lost its helm. I lay aside, then, every thing which is of a secondary interest in the declaration of the elective chamber, and fixing on the single fact announced, the vacancy of the throne, I advance straight to the object.

"A previous question ought to be discussed: if the throne be vacant, we are free to choose the form of our government. Before offering the crown to any individual, it is proper to ascertain into what kind of political order we should constitute the social order. Shall we establish a republic or a new monarchy?"

"Does a republic or a new monarchy offer France sufficient guarantees for durability, strength, and tranquillity? A republic would, in the first place, raise against it the recollections of the republic. These recollections are not effaced. The time is not yet forgotten when death walked between liberty and equality, supported by their arms. When you are plunged into a new anarchy, can you re-animate on his rock the Hercules who was alone capable of strangling the monster? Of these lofty characters history contains some five or six: in another thousand years your posterity may see another Napoleon;—you must not expect it.

"In the existing state of our manners, and in our relations with surrounding states, a republic does not appear to me practicable. The first difficulty is to bring Frenchmen to a unanimous vote upon the subject. What right has the population of Paris to constrain the population of Marseilles, or of any other place, to adopt a republic? Is there to be a single republic, or are we to have twenty or thirty republics? Are they to be federative or independent? Suppose we have a single republic, do you imagine that a president, let him be ever so grave, respectable, or able, would be a year at the head of affairs without wishing to retire? Ill-protected by the laws, insulted hourly by secret rivals and by factious agents, he would possess neither the dignity requisite to treat with foreign governments, nor the power necessary to the maintenance of internal order.

"I pass to a monarchy. A king named by the Chambers, or elected by the people, will always be a novelty. Suppose the object sought be liberty,—the liberty of the press; every new monarchy will be forced, sooner or later, to gag this liberty. Could Napoleon himself admit it? Offspring of our misfortunes, and the slave of our glory, the liberty of the press lives in surety only under a government whose roots are deeply fixed. Will a monarchy which has been the bastard of a sanguinary night have nothing to dread

from the independence of the opinions of the press? If one can preach up a republic, and another some other system, do you not fear to be soon obliged to have recourse to laws of exception, in spite of the eight words expunged from the eighth article of the Charter? Then, O friends of regulated liberty, what will you have gained by your proposed change? You will sink of necessity into a republic, or into legal slavery. The monarchy will be overwhelmed and swept away by the torrent of democratical laws, or the monarch by the operation of factions.

"I exhibit to you only some of the inconveniences attending the formation of a republic or of a new monarchy. If either has its perils, there remains a third course.

"There never was a more just and a more heroic existence than that of the people of Paris. They did not rise against the law, but in support of the law. So long as the social compact remained inviolate, the people were patient. But when a conspiracy of fools and hypocrites was suddenly revealed, when the terror of the chateau, organized by eunuchs, was to replace the terror of the republic and the iron yoke of the empire, then the people exerted their understanding and their courage; and it was found that these shopkeepers could breathe the smoke of gunpowder, and it required more than five soldiers and a corporal to remove them. A century could not so have matured the destinies of a people, as the three last suns which have shone upon France.

"Charles X. and his son are dethroned, or have abdicated, as you please; but the throne is not vacant. After them comes a child. Is his innocence to be condemned? What blood now cries out against him? Will you dare to say it is that of his father? This tender orphan, educated in the schools of his country—in the love of constitutional government, and in the ideas of the age—might have become a King in relation with the times and the wants of futurity. It is to the guardian of his minority that the oath you are about to vote upon should be sworn. The present, the actual King, should be the Duke of Orleans, Regent of the Kingdom.

"It is through no sentimental devotion, or nursery-affection transmitted from the cradle of St. Louis to that of the young Henry, that I plead this cause. I am no believer in the creed of the right divine of Royalty; I believe in the power of revolutions and of facts. I do not even invoke the charter; I take my ideas from a higher source; I draw them from the philosophical sphere—from the epoch when my life expires. I propose the Duke of Bourdeaux solely as a necessity for

a better alloy than that on which we are arguing.

"I know that by removing this infant the object is to establish the principle of the sovereignty of the people, that contemptible nonsense of the old school, which proves that, in respect to politics, our old democrats have not made more progress than the veterans of royalty. No where is there absolute sovereignty; liberty does not flow from political right, as was supposed in the 18th century; it springs from natural right, and therefore exists under all forms of government: so that a monarchy may be free, and much more free than a republic. But this is neither the time nor the place for a course of politics.

"I shall content myself with observing that, when the people dispose of thrones, they also often dispose of their liberty. The principle of hereditary monarchy, absurd as it is at first sight, has been recognized in practice as preferable to the principle of elective monarchy. The reason is so palpable that I need not explain it. You choose a King to-day. What will prevent you from choosing one to-morrow? The law, you will say—the law! Ah! but you are the makers of the law! There is still a plainer way of putting the question. We will no longer have the elder branch of the Bourbons. But why? Because we are victorious: we have triumphed in a just and sacred cause, and we exercise a double right of conquest. Well, you proclaim the sovereignty of force. Then take good care of that force; for if it escape from you, in a few months you will have no right to complain. But, though I were to stir the dust of thirty-five Capets, I could not draw an argument from it which would be listened to. The idolatry of a name is abolished. The monarchy is no longer a religion; but it is a political form preferable at this moment to every other, because it best introduces order into liberty. An unsuccessful Cassandra, I have sufficiently fatigued the throne and the peerage with my disdained advice. I can now only sit down on the ruins of a shipwreck which I have so often foretold. I give to misfortune every sort of power except that of releasing me from my oaths of fidelity. I am bound also to make my life consistent. After all that I have done, said, and written for the Bourbons, I should be the basest of wretches if I renounced them at the very moment when they are for the third and last time going into exile.

"Fear I leave to those generous Royalists who have never sacrificed a farthing or a place to their loyalty,—to those champions of the throne and the altar who lately called me renegade, apostate, and revolutionist. Pious libellers, the renegade appeals to you! Come

and join me, just to stammer out a word, a single word, for the unfortunate master who loaded you with favors, and whom you have undone. Insitutors of coups d'etat, preachers of the royal constituent power, where are you now? Your present silence is worthy of your past language. What! those Preux Chevaliers whose meditated exploits have made the descendants of Henry IV. be driven away with pitchforks, now tremble crouching under the tri-colored cockade! This is quite natural. The noble colors with which they decorate themselves protect their persons, but do not conceal their infamy.

"In thus frankly expressing my opinion, I do not conceive that I am performing an act of heroism. We have nothing to fear from a people whose judgment and courage are equal, nor from the generous youth whom I admire, with whom I sympathize with all my soul, and to whom, as to my country, I wish honor, glory, and liberty. Had I the right to dispose of a crown, I would willingly lay it at the feet of the Duke of Orleans. But I see no vacancy, except that of a tomb at St. Denis, and not a throne. Whatever destiny may await the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, I shall never be his enemy, if he makes my country happy. I ask only to retain the liberty of my conscience, and the right of going to die wherever I may find independence and repose. I vote against the declaration."

This eloquent speech of M. de Chateaubriand, especially its sarcastic invective, produced a great sensation. His devotion to the justly excluded line was chivalrous—his logic has parallels in old romances.

The chamber adopted all the articles of the Declaration of Rights, except that which declared the creations of Peers by Charles X. null and void. This question the Chamber left to the decision of the Lieutenant-General. Upon the ballot there were eighty Peers for the Declaration, and ten against it. A grand Deputation was appointed to carry it up to the Duke of Orleans, and at ten o'clock the Chamber moved to the Palais Royal for that purpose.

In the mean time the Chamber of Deputies proceeded to the Palais Royal, attended by the National Guards. The Duke, surrounded by his family, received them. M. Lafitte having read to his Royal Highness the act of the constitution, the Duke replied in the following terms:—

"I receive with deep emotion the Declaration you present to me; I regard it as the expression of the national will, which appears to me to be conformable to the poli-

tical principles I have professed throughout my life.

"Filled with recollections which have always made me hope never to be called to ascend the throne, exempt from ambition, and habituated to the life of peace which I led with my family, I cannot conceal from you the sentiments which agitate my mind at this great conjuncture; but there is one which entirely predominates over all the rest—the love of my country. I am fully impressed with the duties it prescribes to me, and I will perform them."

His Royal Highness was deeply affected. Surrounded by his family, he embraced M. Lafitte. Acclamations of "*Vive le Roi!*" "*Vive la Reine!*" "*Vive la Famille Royale!*" burst from every voice present, and were reiterated by thousands in the courts of the palace. The voice of the multitude called forth the Prince to the balcony, accompanied by M. Lafayette. They were both received with acclamations, which were redoubled when the Duchess of Orleans presented her children to the people. M. Lafayette, struck by this unanimity of feeling, took the hand of the Duke of Orleans, saying, "We have done well; you are the Prince we want; this is the best of republics!" After dinner, an innumerable crowd demanded to see the Duke, and he made his appearance at the balcony, with his whole family.

At half-past ten the Chamber of Peers arrived to present the Declaration which they had agreed to. Baron Pasquier, the President, delivered the following address to the Duke of Orleans.

"Monseigneur—The Chamber of Peers are come to present to your Royal Highness the act which is to secure our future destiny. You formerly defended with arms our new and inexperienced liberties; to-day you are about to consecrate them by institutions and laws. Your exalted understanding, your inclinations, the recollections of your whole life, promise that we shall find in you a citizen king. You will respect our guarantees, which are at the same time your own. This noble family we see around you, brought up in the love of their country, of justice, and of truth, will ensure to our children the peaceable enjoyment of that Charter you are about to swear to maintain, and the benefits of a government at once stable and free."

To this address His Royal Highness replied as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—by presenting to me this Declaration you have testified a confidence which deeply affects me. Attached from conviction to constitutional principles, I desire nothing so much as a good understand-

ing between the two Chambers. I thank you for affording me ground to reckon upon it. You have imposed upon me a great task; I will endeavour to prove myself worthy of it."

There is only one thing remarkable in the Duke's answer to the Baron's address; it is a word—the first word—he styled the peers "Gentlemen."

Whatever was the difference of opinion as to the form of government to be established, at a moment when the nation was free to choose between a limited monarchy and a republic, it existed only among those classes whose opportunities of appreciating the fitness or applicability of either system to the situation of France had been limited by youth and inexperience on the one hand, or by a want of the necessary degree of political knowledge and information on the other.

The students, for instance, in the schools of law and medicine, of whom there are many thousands in Paris, were almost all, more or less, deeply tinged with republican opinions. Yesterday and to-day the courts and passages connected with the Chamber of Deputies were crowded with these youthful publicists, in their anxiety to witness, and, as some asserted, to overawe the important deliberations of the representative Chamber.

A scene of an interesting nature took place this morning at the Palais Royal, in consequence of their enthusiastic demonstrations in favor of what was thought to be essential to public liberty. It strikingly indicates the sentiments entertained by those of the French youth enjoying the greatest advantages in point of education, and throws light on the plain good sense of the Duke of Orleans.

A number of these young men, most conspicuous for the warmth with which they had expressed their political opinions, were carried to the Palais Royal, and introduced to the Duke of Orleans by a gentleman, who, on presenting them, informed his Royal Highness that he brought with him a few of his young friends, who, he observed, with a smile, were all zealous republicans.

"That does not surprise me," replied the Duke: "at their age I, too, was a republican. I was a Girondist, but never a Montagnard."

"*Cependant, Monseigneur,*" interposed one of the young men, with some hesitation.

"The Montagnards have done a great deal of mischief, gentlemen," continued the Duke.

"But," replied another of the party, "my father was one of them."

"And so was mine," rejoined the Prince.

"We know very well," added the young man who had previously spoken, "that at present a republic is out of the question; but

we wish at least to see our liberties secured by sufficient guarantees."

"On that point," said the Duke, "we perfectly understand each other."

On this the young republicans withdrew, expressing to each other much less exalted opinions as to the nature and supremacy of popular right than before their admission into the presence of royalty. On descending the last steps of the Palace, one of the most enthusiastic of their number observed to his companions, "*Eh bien, mes amis, Le Prince est un brave homme: c'est un 221.*"

The "221" was the number of a majority of Deputies in the former Chamber, who voted what was called an "insolent address" to Charles X., against the measure of the ministers, and defeated their desire of effecting unconstitutional purposes by legislative forms. The address was the main ground for dissolving the Chamber, and having recourse to a new election. The electors returned the present deputies, the majority of whom, had they been convoked, would have been as refractory as the Deputies of the former Chamber.

The last ordinance signed by Charles X. was for the suppression of the Polytechnic School. One of the pupils related, in conversation, the feeling which induced the students to join the people of Paris, and the manner in which the citizens received them.

"We knew that our school was soon to be abolished, and that the studies at which we had so long burned the midnight lamp would become useless to us. If we therefore required any thing more than a love of country to do our duty—and thank God," added he, striking his breast, "not one amongst us did—we should have found it in our own personal interests. We had no sooner received intelligence that from the excessive state of excitement created throughout the town, by the obnoxious measures of Polignac, a popular commotion was to be apprehended, than we sallied forth *en masse*. We had scarcely traversed three streets, when our further progress was arrested by an armed mob. 'Is not (they said) the Ecole Polytechnique what it was in 1814? Do you mean to sully its fair fame?' Our surprise at first at such a reception, from those whose interests it was our intention to espouse, was extreme, until one of our companions fortunately perceived that in our hurry to participate in what was passing, we had neglected to take the fleurs-de-lis from our hats. To give you an idea of the enthusiastic cheers with which we were greeted when we dashed this tyrannic badge to the ground, would be in vain. Many amongst us were elected chiefs by the people themselves, a still greater

number rose themselves unsolicited to that dignity; in the course of the day each leader succeeded in procuring a horse, the greater number of which were taken from the gendarmes, and, if we did not raise, we at least maintained unsullied the reputation of the *Ecole Polytechnique*. But, where all proved themselves heroes, none deserve praise. A companion of mine fought beside a wine-merchant; a Swiss aimed at him a sabre blow

with such violence, that the blade broke in his chest; the patriot's gun fell from his hand, his lips quivered, and he remained for a moment, as it were, unconscious of what was passing around him; but it was but for a moment, for, with a resolution of purpose which mocks description, dragging the broken sword from his mutilated body, he handed it to my friend, "*Apportez la à ma femme, dis lui que je l'ai reçu pour la patrie.*"

MONDAY, AUGUST 9.

Yesterday, Sunday, nothing of public interest occurred. It was the anniversary of the accession of the Polignac administration.

To-day the Duke of Orleans was to be enthroned King of the French, upon condition of his accepting the Declaration of Rights.

By seven o'clock in the morning the people anxiously crowded round the gates of the Palace of Deputies. At ten o'clock they had occupied the tribunes. At noon all the Deputies were present. Only four or five members of the right were observed, Messrs. Berryer de Lardemelle, Murat, Paul de Chateaudouble, &c. At one o'clock the Peers began to occupy the benches assigned them on the right of the throne. The tribune of the diplomatic body was almost entirely filled with ladies. There were a few *Chargés d'Affaires* and a general officer, who appeared to be an Englishman.

The fleur-de-lis, which decorated the velvet curtain of the throne, had been removed. Four large tri-colored flags were displayed to the right and left of the throne. Three red velvet stools were before it. Lower down, to the right and left, were the benches for the provisional Ministers. The National Guard alone were on duty at the Palace.

Two seats covered with pink silk were placed in the centre of the Assembly, on the last bench generally occupied by the Ministers Secretaries of State; they were for the Presidents of the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Peers. The Peers were to the number of ninety.

Soon after one o'clock the provisional Commissioners for the several departments of Justice, the Interior, Foreign Affairs, War, Finance, Public Instruction, entered the Hall.

The tribune intended for the family of the Lieutenant-General was opened at a quarter past two, and all eyes were turned to that side. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Orleans entered first; Mademoiselle d'Orleans, the Prince de Joinville, and the Duke de Montpensier, seated themselves on her right hand; Mademoiselles de Valois and Beaujolais on her left. The Duchess ap-

peared to be greatly moved. She several times saluted the assembly. Her dress and that of the young Princesses were plain white robes. The Princes were dressed in sky blue frock coats.

The crown, the sceptre, the sword, and the hand of justice were brought upon a rich cushion, and placed upon a table to the right of the throne.

Four Marshals of France, the Dukes of Treviso, Tarentum, and Reggio, and Count Molitor, placed themselves standing behind the throne.

At half-past two sounds of warlike music were heard in the assembly, announcing the arrival of the Duke. Profound silence ensued. The great deputation returned to the Hall. M. Cassimir Perrier, President of the Chamber of Deputies, and M. Pasquier, President of the Chamber of Peers, took the two seats prepared for them.

The Duke of Orleans entered the Hall, followed by his two sons, the Dukes de Chartres and Nemours, and took their places some feet before the throne.

Cries, a thousand times repeated, of "*Vive le Duc d'Orleans!*" &c., were heard from all the benches: the public in the galleries joined in these acclamations. The Prince bowed several times, and said, "Gentlemen, be seated." The Prince himself sat down and put on his hat, and requested the President to read to him the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies.

M. Cassimir Perrier, the President, then read with a firm and loud voice, during a most solemn silence, the Declaration of the Chamber of Deputies. He then ascended the steps, bowed to the Duke, who rose, received the Declaration from his hands, and said—

"Monsieur, the President of the Chamber of Peers, I request you to deliver to me the act of adherence given by the Peers of France to the Declaration of the Chamber of Deputies."

Baron Pasquier delivered to the Duke, with the same ceremonial, the act of adherence of the Chamber of Peers.

The Prince Lieutenant-General then said, in a strong and sonorous voice,

"GENTLEMEN, PEERS AND DEPUTIES,

"I have read with great attention the Declaration of the Chamber of Deputies, and the adherence of the Chamber of Peers. I have weighed and meditated all the expressions of them. I accept, without restriction or reserve, all the clauses and engagements which this Declaration contains, and the title of King of the French which it confers upon me. I am ready to swear to the observance of them."

Scarcely were these words pronounced, when cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" "*Vive Philippe I.!*" resounded through the Hall. The King bowed, and, raising his hand towards heaven, pronounced the following oath:—

"In the presence of God I swear faithfully to observe the Constitutional Charter, with the changes and modifications expressed in the Declaration of the Chamber of Deputies: to govern only by the laws, and according to the laws; to cause good and strict justice to be done to every body according to his right; and to act in all things solely with a view to promote the happiness and the glory of the French people."

This solemn oath was received with new acclamations. The Chambers and the galleries were turned towards the gallery of the Royal family, and cries of "*Vive la Reine!*" "*Vive la Famille Royale!*" arose from all parts of the Hall, and were repeated by the immense crowd that surrounded the Palace.

The King immediately signed the Declaration, the act of adherence, and the oath.

Philippe I. then sat down on the throne, and delivered the following speech:—

"Messrs. Peers and Deputies,

"I have maturely reflected on the extent of the duties which are imposed upon me. I have the consciousness of being able to fulfil them by causing the compact of alliance which has been proposed to me to be observed.

"I should have ardently desired never to fill the throne to which the national will calls me; but I yield to this will, expressed to the Chambers in the name of the French people, for the maintenance of the Charter and the laws.

"The modifications which we have just made in the Charter guarantee the security of the future and the prosperity of France. Happy at home, respected abroad, at peace with Europe, it will be more consolidated."

Fresh acclamations rose in the Hall, and did not cease till long after the departure of the King and his august family.

M. Dupont de l'Eure, Commissioner for the department of Justice, said—"The King invites the members of the two Chambers to meet to-morrow in their respective palaces to make oath to the Charter, and to continue their labors."

The crowd dispersed slowly to the sound of military music, and the Queen mingled in the Hall of conferences with the people, amidst their acclamations.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.—THE CHARTER OF 1830.

The provisions and propositions upon which, in behalf of the people, the Chamber of Deputies called the Duke of Orleans to the throne, and which, having been acceded to by the Chamber of Peers, he accepted and swore to observe as the Charter of the nation, are contained in the annexed document, signed by the President, Vice-president, and Secretary; and signed by the Duke of Orleans in the presence of the two Chambers, in the manner above related, previous to his taking the oath and being admitted to sit down upon the throne.

"DECLARATION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

"The Chamber of Deputies, taking into consideration the imperious necessity which is the result of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of July and the following days, and the situation in which France is at this moment placed, in consequence of this violation of the Constitutional Charter; considering,

however, that by this violation, and the heroic resistance of the citizens of Paris, his Majesty King CHARLES X., his Royal Highness LOUIS ANTOINE, his son, and the senior members of the Royal House, are leaving the kingdom of France,—declares that the throne is vacant *de facto et de jure*, and that there is an absolute necessity of providing for it.

"The Chamber of Deputies declare, secondly, that according to the wish, and for the interest of the people of France, the preamble of the Constitutional Charter is omitted, as wounding the national dignity, by appearing to grant to them rights which essentially belong to them; and that the following articles of the same Charter ought to be suppressed or modified in the following manner:—

"Article 1. Frenchmen are to be equal before the law, whatever may be their titles or their ranks.

"Art. 2. They are to contribute in pro-

portion to their fortunes to the charges of the state.

" Art. 3. They are all to be equally admissible to civil and military employments.

" Art. 4. Their individual liberty is equally guaranteed. No person can be either prosecuted or arrested, except in cases prescribed by the law.

" Art. 5. Each one may profess his religion with equal liberty, and shall obtain for his religious worship the same protection.

" Art. 6. The Ministers of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion, professed by the majority of the French, and those of other Christian worship, receive stipends from the Public Treasury.

" Art. 7. Frenchmen have the right of publishing and printing their opinions, provided they conform themselves to the laws. The Censorship can never be re-established.

" Art. 8. All property, without exception, is to be inviolable; of that which is called national, the law makes no difference.

" Art. 9. The State can exact the sacrifice of property for the good of the public, legally proved; but an indemnity shall be first given to those who may suffer from the change.

" Art. 10. All searching into the opinions and votes given before the restoration is interdicted, and the same forgetfulness is commanded to be adopted by the tribunals and by the citizens.

" Art. 11. The conscription is abolished; the method of recruiting the army for land and sea is to be determined by the law.

" FORMS OF THE KING'S GOVERNMENT.

" Art. 12. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred: his ministers are responsible; to the King alone belongs executive power.

" Art. 13. The King is to be the chief supreme of the State; to command the forces by sea and by land; to declare war; to make treaties of peace and alliances of commerce; to name all those who are employed in the public administrations, and to make all the regulations necessary for the execution of the laws, without having power either to suspend the laws themselves or dispense with their execution. Nevertheless, no foreign troops can ever be admitted into the service of the state without an express law.

" Art. 14. The legislative power is to be exercised collectively by the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies.

" Art. 15. The proposition of the laws is to belong to the King, to the Chamber of Peers, and to the Chamber of Deputies. Nevertheless, all the laws of taxes are to be first voted by the Chamber of Deputies.

" Art. 16. Every law to be freely discussed, and voted by the majority of each of the two Chambers.

" Art. 17. If a proposed law be rejected by one of the three powers, it cannot be brought forward again in the same session.

" Art. 18. The King can alone sanction and promulgate the laws.

" Art. 19. The Civil List is to be fixed for the duration of the reign, by the Legislative Assembly, after the accession of the King.

" OF THE CHAMBER OF PEERS.

" Art. 20. The Chamber of Peers is to form an essential portion of the Legislative Power.

" Art. 21. It is to be convoked by the King at the same time as the Chamber of Deputies of the Departments. The session of one is to begin and finish at the same time as the other.

" Art. 22. Any assembly of the Chamber of Peers which shall be held at a time which is not that of the session of the Chamber of Deputies is illicit, and null of full right, except the case in which it is assembled as a Court of Justice, and then it can only exercise judicial functions.

" Art. 23. The nomination of the Peers of France is the prerogative of the King. Their number is unlimited. He can vary their dignities, and name them Peers for life, or make them hereditary, at his pleasure.

" Art. 24. Peers can enter the Chamber at 25 years of age, but have only a deliberative voice at the age of 30 years.

" Art. 25. The Chamber of Peers is to be presided over by the Chancellor of France, and in his absence by a Peer named by the King.

" Art. 26. The Princes of the Blood are to be Peers by right of birth. They are to take their seats next to the President.

" Art. 27. The sittings of the Chamber of Peers are to be public, as well as those of the Chamber of Deputies.

" Art. 28. The Chamber of Peers takes cognizance of high treason, and of attempts against the surety of the state, which is to be defined by the law.

" Art. 29. No Peer can be arrested but by the authority of the Chamber, or judged but by it in a criminal matter.

" OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES OF THE DEPARTMENTS.

" Art. 30. The Chamber of Deputies will be composed of Deputies elected by the Electoral Colleges, of which the organisation is to be determined by the laws.

" Art. 31. The Deputies are to be elected for the space of five years.

"Art. 32. No Deputy can be admitted into the Chamber till he has attained the age of thirty years, and if he does not possess the other conditions prescribed by law.

"Art. 33. If, however, there should not be in the department fifty persons of the age specified, paying the amount of taxes fixed by law, their number shall be completed from the persons who pay the greatest amount of taxes under the amount fixed by law.

Art. 34. No person can be an elector if he is under twenty-five years of age; and if he does not possess all the other conditions determined upon by the law.

Art. 35. The Presidents of the electoral colleges are to be named by the electors.

"Art. 36. The half at least of the Deputies are to be chosen from those who have their political residence in the departments.

"Art. 37. The President of the Chamber of Deputies is to be elected by itself at the opening of each session.

"Art. 38. The sittings of the Chambers are to be public, but the request of five members will be sufficient to form a select committee.

"Art. 39. The Chamber to be divided into secret committees, to discuss laws which may be presented from the King.

"Art. 40. No tax can be established nor imposed, if it has not been consented to by the two Chambers, and sanctioned by the King.

"Art. 41. The land and house tax can only be voted for one year. The indirect taxes may be voted for many years.

"Art. 42. The King is to convoke every year the two Chambers, and he has the right to prorogue them, and to dissolve that of the Deputies of the Departments; but in this case he must convoke a new one within the period of three months.

"Art. 43. No bodily restraint can be exercised against a member of the Chamber during the session, nor for six weeks which precede or follow the session.

"Art. 44. No member of the Chamber can be, during the session, prosecuted or arrested in a criminal matter, except taken in the act, till after the Chamber has permitted his arrest.

"Art. 45. Every petition to either of the Chambers must be made in writing. The law interdicts its being carried in person to the bar.

"OF THE MINISTERS.

"Art. 46. The Ministers can be Members of the Chamber of Peers or the Chamber of Deputies. They have, moreover, their entrance into either Chamber, and are entitled to be heard when they demand it.

"Art. 47. The Chamber of Deputies have the right of impeaching the Ministers, or of transferring them before the Chamber of Peers, who alone can judge them.

"JUDICIAL REGULATIONS.

"Art. 48. All justice emanates from the King; he administers in his name by the judges, whom he names, and whom he institutes.

"Art. 49. The judges named by the King are immovable.

"Art. 50. The ordinary courts and tribunals existing are to be maintained, and there is to be no change but by virtue of a law.

"Art. 51. The actual institution of the Judges of Commerce is preserved.

"Art. 52. The office of Justice of Peace is equally preserved. The justices of peace, though named by the King, are not immovable.

"Art. 53. No one can be deprived of his natural judges.

"Art. 54. There cannot, in consequence, be extraordinary commissions and tribunals created by any title or denomination whatever.

"Art. 55. The debates will be public in criminal matters, at least when that publicity will not be dangerous to the public order and manners, and in that case the tribunal is to declare so by a distinct judgment.

"Art. 56. The institution of juries is to be preserved; the changes which a longer experience may render necessary can only be effected by a distinct law.

"Art. 57. The punishment of the confiscation of goods is abolished, and cannot be re-established.

"Art. 58. The King has the right to pardon and to commute the punishment.

"Art. 59. The Civil Code, and the actual laws existing, that are not contrary to the present Charter, will remain in full force until they shall be legally derogated.

"PARTICULAR RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE STATE.

"Art. 60. The military in actual service, officers and soldiers, retired widows, officers and soldiers pensioned, are to preserve their grades, honors, and pensions.

"Art. 61. The public debt is guaranteed—every sort of engagement made by the state with its creditors is to be inviolable.

"Art. 62. The ancient nobility are to resume their titles; the new are to preserve theirs; the King is to create Nobles at his pleasure; but he only grants to them rank and honors, without exemption from the

charges and duties imposed on them as members of society.

"Art. 63. The Legion of Honor is to be maintained. The King is to determine the regulations and decorations.

"Art. 64. The French Colonies are to be governed by particular laws.

"Art. 65. The King and his successors are to swear, on their accession, in presence of the assembled Chambers, to observe faithfully the Constitutional Charter.

"Art. 66. The present Charter, and the rights it consecrates, shall be entrusted to the patriotism and courage of the National Guard and all the French citizens.

"Art. 67. France resumes her colors; for the future there will be no other cockade than the tri-colored.

"SPECIAL PROVISIONS.

"All the creations of Peers during the reign of Charles X. are declared null and void.

"Art. 27 of the Charter will undergo a fresh examination during the session of 1831.

"The Chamber of Deputies declare, thirdly, that it is necessary to provide successively for separate laws, and that with the shortest possible delay.

"1. For the extension of the trial by jury to misdemeanors, and particularly those of the press.

"2. For the responsibility of Ministers and the secondary agents of Government.

"3. For the re-election of Deputies appointed to public functions.

"4. For the annual voting of the army estimates.

"5. For the organisation of the National Guards, and for the choice of their own officers.

"6. For a military code, ensuring in a legal manner the situation of officers of all ranks.

"7. For the departmental and municipal administrations.

"8. For public instruction and the freedom of tuition.

"9. For the abolition of the double vote, and for the fixing of the qualification for electors and deputies.

"10. Declaring that all laws and ordinances which are contrary to the measures adopted for the reform of the Charter are thenceforward annulled and abrogated.

"Upon condition of accepting these provisions and propositions, the Chamber of Deputies declares that the universal and pressing interest of the French people calls to the throne his Royal Highness LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS, DUC D'ORLEANS, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and his

descendants for ever, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of the female branches and their descendants.

"In consequence his Royal Highness LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, shall be invited to accept and make oath to the above clauses and engagements—the observance of the Constitutional Charter, and the modifications indicated—and, after having made oath before the assembled Chambers, to assume the title of the King of the French.

"DEBATED at the Palace of the CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, 7th of August, 1830.

"President and Secretaries.

"LAFITTE, Vice-President.

"JACQUEMINOT.

"PAVÉE DE VENDEUVRE.

"CUNIN-GRIDAIN.

"JARS.

"Examined with the original by us, President and Secretaries—

"LAFITTE.

"JARS.

"JACQUEMINOT.

"PAVÉE DE VENDEUVRE, Deputy d'l'Aube.

"CUNIN GRIDAIN, Député des Ardennes."

"FRENCH PRINCIPLES."

The preceding, being the Constitutional Charter of 1830, is grounded upon "*French Principles*." Many persons in England know nothing of these principles, but the familiar use of the term. Some may incline to acquaint themselves with its meaning.

FRENCH PRINCIPLES are a series of Articles which were drawn up and agreed upon by the National Assembly at Paris in 1789. These *Principles* or articles they called "The Declaration of Rights," and proposed as the basis of a government they desired to establish. The document is annexed, viz.—

"THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

"The REPRESENTATIVES of the people of France formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of government, have resolved to set forth in a solemn Declaration these natural, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights—that this Declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the body social, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties—that the acts of the legislative and executive powers of government, being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected; and also,—

that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by simple and incontestible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the constitution, and the general happiness.

"For these reasons the National Assembly doth recognize and declare, in the presence of the supreme Being and with the hope of his blessing and favor, the following sacred rights of men and of citizens :—

"I. Men were born and always continue free, and equal in respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

"II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

"III. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

"IV. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights; and these limits are determinable only by the law.

"V. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law should not be hindered; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

"VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all, being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to all honors, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

"VII. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished: and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law ought immediately to obey, and renders himself culpable by resistance.

"VIII. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law pro-

mulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

"IX. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigor to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

"X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

"XI. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

"XII. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and of citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons to whom it is entrusted.

"XIII. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expenses of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

"XIV. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

"XV. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

"XVI. Every community, in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

"XVII. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity."

FRENCH PRINCIPLES being thus stated, it is proper to subjoin the motives by which the National Assembly of 1789, in their first address to their constituents, represent themselves to have been actuated. Their observations are applicable to the situation of France in 1830. They say,—

"We should betray you, were we capable of concealing the truth. The nation is at this moment on the point of rising to the most illustrious destiny, or of sinking into the gulf of misfortune.

"A great revolution has been effected, the very project of which, a few months ago, would have appeared chimerical. Accelerated by circumstances, which no human prudence could calculate, this revolution has involved the entire subversion of the ancient system; and, without leaving us the time to prop up that part of the fabric which ought still to be preserved, or to replace what ought to be destroyed, it has on a sudden surrounded us with ruins.

"If you do not, by your immediate assistance, restore motion and life to the political body, the most glorious of revolutions must perish almost as soon as it saw the light; it will return into that chaos whence so many generous efforts have called it forth into existence; and those who are determined to preserve, for ever, the invincible love of liberty, would not leave, even to unworthy citizens, the shameful consolation of resuming the fetters of slavery.

"Since the moment that your deputies, forming a just and necessary union, have sacrificed to concord every species of rivalry and opposition of interest, the national assembly have not ceased to toil for the establishment of laws, which, being the same for all, should form the safeguard of all. The National Assembly have repaired the most important errors; they have broken the bonds of a multitude of slavish oppressions, which degraded humanity; they have filled with joy and hope the hearts of the peasants, those creditors of the earth and of nature, so long discouraged and despised; they have established that precious equality too much unknown to the French—the common right to serve the state, to enjoy its protection, and to merit its favors; in short, according to your instructions, the National Assembly are employed in erecting gradually, on the immoveable basis of the unalienable rights of man, a constitution mild as nature herself, durable as justice, and of which the imperfections, an unavoidable consequence of the inexperience of its authors, will easily be repaired.

"We have had to combat with the inveterate prejudices of ages, and great changes are attended by a thousand uncertainties. Our successors will be enlightened by experience; but we have endeavoured to trace a new route by the light of principles only. They will labor in peace, but we have been tried with dreadful storms. They will know their rights, and the limits of the several powers; we have recovered the first, and fixed the second. They will consolidate our work—they will surpass us; and that shall be our recompense. Who shall now presume to limit the grandeur of France? Who would not ele-

vate his hopes? Who would not rejoice to be a citizen of this empire?"

FRENCH PRINCIPLES were frustrated in their progress, and the objects of the individuals who promulgated them were defeated, by circumstances which are now matter of history. Some of the ablest men among those that framed the Declaration of Rights fell in defence of their *principles*, by the axe of the guillotine, during a reign of terror which subdued order and virtue, and deluged France with blood. The individuals perished, but their *principles* survive.

FRENCH PRINCIPLES have worked, are working, and *will* work.

FRENCH PRINCIPLES became the admiration of the enlightened and the wise. In this excellent class ranked ROSCOE of Liverpool,—whose honored name will be ever venerated by the lovers of literature and liberty. He hailed the new birth of Freedom forty years ago, in verses of lasting renown; and he yet lives—though gently fading from the earth—to be revived by the re-appearance and application of the principles which, through good and evil report, he has advocated during a long life of high-minded philanthropy, and intense devotion to the abolition of slavery all over the world.

SONG.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE, Esq.

O'er the vine-cover'd hills and gay regions of France,
See the day star of Liberty rise,
Through the clouds of detraction unwearied advance,
And hold its gay course through the skies,
An effulgence so mild, with a lustre so bright,
All Europe with wonder surveys;
And, from deserts of darkness and dungeons of night,
Contends for a share of the blaze.
Let Burke like a bat from its splendor retire,
A splendor too strong for his eyes;
Let pedants and fools his effusions admire,
Entrapp'd in his cobwebs like flies;
Shall Frenzy and Sophistry hope to prevail
When Reason opposes its weight,
When the welfare of millions is hung in the scale,
And the balance yet trembles with fate!
Ah! who, 'midst the horrors of night would abide,
That can taste the pure breezes of morn?
Or who that has drank of the crystalline tide
To the feculent flood would return?
When the bosom of beauty the throbbing heart meets,
Ah! who can its transports decline?
Then who, that has tasted of Liberty's sweets,
The prize but with life would resign?
But 'tis over; high Heaven the decision approves
Oppression has struggled in vain,
To the hell she has form'd Superstition removes,
And Tyranny gnaws his own chain;
In the records of Time a new æra unfolds,
All nature exults in its birth,
The Creator benign his creation beholds,
And gives a new charter to earth.
O catch its high import, ye winds, as ye blow,
O bear it ye waves as ye roll,
From regions that feel the sun's vertical glow
To the farthest extremes of the pole:
Equal laws, equal rights, to the nations around,
Peace and friendship their precepts impart;
And, wherever the footsteps of Man shall be found,
May he bind the decree on his heart!

CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH.

Right thinking people in every country have duly estimated the people of Paris, in the noble stand they made for Liberty.—Meetings were held at London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, and other towns throughout the kingdom, to testify public approbation of their conduct, and to raise and transmit money for the relief of the wounded, and the widows and orphans of those who fell.

At a public meeting in Edinburgh, FRANCIS JEFFREY, Esq., Dean of Faculty, moved the following noble resolution:—

“That the people of France having, with unexampled efforts of courage, and under every disadvantage of preparation, baffled the profligate attempt of their late Monarch to violate the sacred compact by which he held his crown, and to support that aggression by the most atrocious abuse of his military authority; and having, in the very moment of their sudden triumph, and while yet excited by the sanguinary struggle through which it had been obtained, made no other use of the power with which it invested them than to exclude from the throne the tyrant and his descendants, and to make such alterations only in the Charter of their liberties as were calculated to prevent the recurrence of similar calamities, and give security and permanence to their free institutions; have, by thus uniting wisdom with heroism, and moderation with victory, not only vindicated their own rights in a manner the most glorious, but done all that in them lay to maintain the peace of Europe, and have consequently entitled themselves to the high admiration and gratitude of all the friends of good order and especially of the people of Britain, who wrought out and established their own freedom by kindred measures, and have, of all nations, most cause to rejoice in the liberty and happiness of France.”

Mr. JEFFREY, in the course of an able speech, delivered sentiments which in justice to the French people and to ourselves it is important to recollect, and therefore to record.

He said—“Let the meeting contrast the revolution of 1790 with that of 1830. The former characterised by insane councils, and by the atrocities of those wicked instruments by which those councils were carried into execution—when every thing venerable—every thing established—every thing sacred—every thing human or divine which could command veneration or respect—when religion, dignity, rank—all that had pretensions to superior worth, was levelled in one chaos of ruin and disorder—when a series of abomi-

inations were committed, almost incredible in a Christian land. Then no quarter was given—no offence was requisite to justify the slaughter of all who were suspected as being defenders of ancient royalty: women and children—ladies of rank, delicacy, and unimpeachable virtue, were treated with cruelty, brutality, and insult, merely because they bore names which had adorned the history of France—the guillotine was the remedy for every excess—the country was deluged by a sea of blood—and all the porters at the gates or hotels of Paris were indiscriminately massacred in cold blood, merely because known by the general name of Swiss, to which many of them had no title. Look at the contrast of 1830. Although employed in the first days of the revolution in cutting down and slaughtering the people, not one of those same Swiss who asked quarter was refused it—not a single atrocity—not a single excess had been committed even in the excitement of victory. (*Applause.*) As a consummation of the whole, look at the treatment of Charles X. and of Louis XVI. Contrast the total forbearance from violence or even insult—the respect and gravity with which that infatuated, he might say guilty tyrant, was ushered out of that kingdom, the dominion of which he had forfeited. Guards of honor attending him—riding proudly in his carriage, surrounded by his family, and conducted by the representatives of the people, he passed through the country, amidst a mixed feeling of sympathy and contempt no doubt, but unhurt by either insult or injury. (*Loud applauses.*) Compare this proud triumph of noble minds—this moderation in the exercise of the rights of a free and magnanimous people—compare this, he said, with the atrocities which marked the conduct of their fathers, and even of some of themselves, when they brought to the scaffold a benevolent Prince, whose whole reign had been marked by a series of concessions to his people. (*Loud applauses.*) This was well calculated to command the admiration of the people of this country, were the fact merely before them. But they had the theory as well as the fact to explain this extraordinary contrast. The excesses of 1790 were those of slaves broken loose, who were as unfit for liberty as they were unworthy of it. (*Cheers.*) The conduct of the French in 1830 was that of men proud of rational liberty, and warned by the excesses of their ancestors—aware that the noblest attributes of a free people were patience, long suffering, and abstinence from vengeance on a fallen enemy. What a glorious lesson did this afford to those who were always afraid of the effects of liberty on the people, who considered that there was no

safety but in bonds—and that, when the people were entrusted with rights, nothing could follow but disorder and bloodshed! (*Loud applause.*) What a proof did this afford that liberty was the only safe preventive of all excesses! (*Applause.*) This was not only the cause of France, it was the cause of England, it was the cause of Europe, it was the cause of the whole human race. (*Cheers.*) It was a lesson which had now been a second time repeated, and it was wonderful how accurately it resembled that shown by this country above 100 years ago. On this occasion the people had been taught a lesson; and at last atoned for the crimes of their fathers. (*Applause.*) On this occasion the stability of the throne or the altar was not aimed at; on the contrary, the throne and the altar were more firmly established, and on a basis of security on which they had never stood before; and it would go far to disarm all those prejudices which were entertained by some even in this country against rational liberty, and to do away those jealousies of popular rights which occasioned alarms in the minds of many by whom he believed they were conscientiously entertained. (*Applause.*) The example they had now seen would do two things. It would illuminate the people on the one hand, in giving free vent to their opinions,—and, on the other, thrones and altars, principalities and powers, would be taught to look for an augmentation of their strength in seeking the fair support and affections of the people. (*Loud cheers.*) In this country even the most devoted and inveterate Tories were found congratulating themselves and their Sovereign on the triumph which monarchy, principle, law, and religion had obtained on this glorious occasion; and he looked forward to the time when men of all parties, of all shades and distinctions, would mingle in the expression of their opinions, free from all the acrimony of party feelings and jealousies. This was already effected in the religious, and why not in the political world? At home, this approximation of good feeling and good will had been conspicuous of late years: men of different designations in religion no longer denounced damnation against each other; but treated each other with Christian charity, although some shades of difference might exist between them on the less important and indifferent points of religion; and why should not political parties exercise the same forbearance and charity towards each other? The time, he hoped, was not far distant, indeed it was almost present, when the names of Fox and Pitt, and the designations of Whig and Tory, as party distinctions, would fall into utter disuse; and when, in all the practical points

of good government, all parties would be united. Party animosity was every day going down; and the same feelings which had now directed the French people, he hoped would soon draw all the nations of the earth into one common union for the preservation of rational liberty, and the interchange of that benevolence by which the whole race of men would be exalted and ennobled. (*Loud cheering.*) Why had we in this country been so long accustomed to regard the French people with contempt? Why, because we thought them too submissive to arbitrary government,—too proud of their own national character—too proud of conquest, and too little fit to govern and restrain themselves. They had on this great occasion shown the reverse of all these faults; they had been so moderate and forbearing that he could not help hoping that the two nations would be henceforth so united, that there should be no rivalry between them but in the practice of virtue and benevolence, and in the honorable rivalry of philosophy and the arts. (*Loud cheers.*) It had been insinuated in some quarters that the British Government patronized the measures of the French Ministry. When Parliament met, he had no doubt that the calumny would be put down. In the mean time, he thought it was proper that the sense of the nation should be expressed upon the subject; and that meetings like the present should take place in all quarters for that purpose."

CHARLES X.

Charles Philip, formerly Count d'Artois, brother and successor to Louis XVIII., was born at Versailles, the 9th of October 1757. He married, in 1773, Maria Teresa of Savoy, and had issue the Duc d'Angoulême (late Dauphin), the Duc de Berri (assassinated), and the Princess Sophia, who died young. His wife is also dead. He was brought up in the court of his grandfather, Louis XV., one of the most exacting, foolish, and dissipated men that ever existed, which ought to be remembered in excuse of his grandson, who showed from an early age all the fruits of such a soil. He was a rake and a ruffian. At a ball, when he was nineteen, he publicly tore a mask from the face of the Duchess de Bourbon, for which he had to fight the Duke. The moment the disorders began in the state, the Count d'Artois set his face against all change and all amelioration, and became very unpopular. On one occasion, when his brother, the late King Louis XVIII., was received with acclamation, it was with difficulty that the count was escorted through the indignant multitude. He affected to

treat the Revolution as a mutiny. The destruction of the Bastille showed him that it was something more. He began, with alarm, to get a glimpse of the new power coming up in the world, called public opinion, showed symptoms of agitation at the National Assembly, when he was obliged to appear with Louis XVI., and two days afterwards left France, to concert the means of invading it with an army of foreigners, and of setting up the first holy alliance, justly called at the time a "conspiracy of kings." In the manifesto published at his instigation, and in the joint names of himself and his brother, by the Emperor and the King of Prussia, the King of France was declared to be an object of common interest to "all the sovereigns of Europe" (not to justice or humanity), and a resolution was announced to restore the monarchical government of France to a condition "equally suitable to the rights of sovereigns, and"—what? the happiness of the people? no—"the welfare of the French nobility." The manifesto came to nothing at the time; but the Count d'Artois made an incursion into Champagne with a corps of emigrants. The incursion came to as little. After other ineffectual attempts to get up an army, he returned into Great Britain, resided a long time in Edinburgh, at Holyrood House, and afterwards, with the rest of the family, at Hartwell, where he remained till Buonaparte overshot himself in Russia. He then went poking about the French frontiers, to see where foreign invasion could come in; and, upon Buonaparte's abdication, issued a manifesto announcing, among other blessings, "the triumph of liberty, and the reign of the laws!" It is needless to state the particulars of either his subsequent flight and return, as Napoleon came and went, or of his various face-makings for and against the Charter, in quality of prince and sovereign. His public professions and his real feelings were always well understood. He took oath upon oath to adhere to the Charter, and we see what they have come to. He dissolved the last Chamber, because it thwarted his views; and, upon seeing that the next was likely to thwart them more, he dissolved *that* before it had assembled!

The whole secret of the matter is, that Charles X. is a common-place Prince of the violent order; an old rake who has become a devotee, and who was willing to compound for his own offences, and those of freedom, by one grand coup-de-main in favor of priestcraft and tyranny. The priests were evidently at the bottom of it, from the bitterness of what is said against their adversaries in the Report of the ministers. The weak obstinate King, took his feebleness for his

strength; and he had as weak a minister in Polignac, to do likewise. Polignac seems a simpleton like the rest of his family, whose influence was wondered at when they helped to ruin Marie Antoinette. Twice have his family been obliged to quit France, and both times with the Count d'Artois.

Charles X. has been a vain, head-strong, unteachable man, badly brought up, forgetting none of his old quarrels with freedom, and resolved to have "that matter out," as the phrase is, the first opportunity. He has had it out, and is out himself.

Charles X. is not wanting in the physical part of firmness and bravery. He keeps up his strength and activity by hunting; and, corporeally speaking, is a respectable old prince of seventy-three, being intemperate in nothing but his bigotries. His face is against him. He shows his teeth like an old hyena, and his smile is as silly as his purposes.

Chat of the Week.

The duel between Charles X., when Count d'Artois, and the Duke of Bourbon, originated in a masquerade frolic. The count having a lady with him was followed by the Duchess of Bourbon. She seized his mask by the beard and the strings snapped; the count seized the Duchess's mask and broke it. The Duke of Bourbon, conceiving that the sex of the Duchess should have protected her from rude retaliation, sent the count d'Artois a message. The duel took place at the Bois de Boulogne, near the Porte des Princes; and, as related by the Chevalier de Crussol, the count's second, is a curiosity, as a specimen of old court manners. The chevalier says,—

"When we reached the Porte des Princes I perceived the Duke de Bourbon on foot, surrounded by several persons. As soon as the Count d'Artois perceived the Duke, he got out of the carriage, and went straight up to him, and said, smiling, 'Sir, it is said that you and I are looking for each other.' The Duke de Bourbon, taking off his hat, replied, 'Sir, I am here to receive your commands.' 'In order to execute yours,' replied the prince, 'you must allow me to return to my carriage.' He then went back to his carriage, and, having taken from it his sword, he rejoined the Duke, and they entered the wood for about twenty paces; they then stopped, and each took his station opposite to the other, sword in hand. They were on the point of commencing the combat, when the Duke de Bourbon, addressing the Prince, said, 'Perhaps, Sir, you do not observe that you stand in a very unfavorable position, as the sun is directly in your eyes.' 'Right,'

said the Prince, 'there is as yet little or no foliage on the trees, and the sun is inconvenient;—we shall, however, not find a shady place unless in the shadow of yonder wall. It is not far off—let us go to it.' Accordingly, each put his naked sword under his arm, and they walked to the proposed spot, side by side, and conversing together. The Duke de Bourbon asked the Count if he had any objection to his (the Duke's) taking off his coat. The proposal was immediately agreed to by the Count, who took off his also, and, their breasts thus entirely open, the combat commenced. They were a long time in position, without either of them making a pass. Suddenly, however," continued M. de Crussol, "I saw the blood mount to the cheeks of the Count d'Artois—from which I could judge that he was growing impatient. In fact, he now began to press upon the Duke rather violently, with the view, as it seemed, of causing him to lose his caution; and I perceived the Duke waver a little. At this instant the Count d'Artois made a lunge, in which his sword seemed to pass under the arm of the Duke de Bourbon. Believing that the Duke must have been wounded, I now stepped forward with a view of staying the proceedings. 'Stay, for a moment, gentlemen,' said I; 'it seems to me that already more than enough has been done to satisfy the trifling character of the difference which led to this meeting. I appeal to M. de Vibraye (whose judgment should bear great weight in matters of this nature), whether I am not correct in what I state.' 'I entirely agree with M. de Crussol,' said M. de Vibraye, 'in thinking that enough has been done to satisfy the most scrupulous delicacy.' 'I am not entitled,' said the Count d'Artois, 'to have any opinion on the matter. It is for the Duke de Bourbon to express his wishes. I am entirely at his disposal.' 'Sir,' replied the Duke de Bourbon, addressing himself to the Prince, and at the same time lowering the point of his sword,— 'I have only to say that I am overwhelmed with gratitude for your kindness to me in this affair, and shall never cease to remember the honor you have conferred on me.' At these words the Count d'Artois opened his arms, and, running towards the Duke, they embraced each other,—and the affair ended."

It was the fashion in France, under the old *regime*, to elevate trifles: a courtier present at this duel, said, "They have fought like a couple of grenadiers!" The Count d'Artois' conduct was a topic for lavish encomiums.

When Mr. Brougham visited Sheffield as a candidate to represent the county of York,

the measures of Charles X. and his ministers had just become known. Mr. Brougham's opinion upon the subject was requested and he said, with a power and energy peculiarly his own,—“Alas! the news has reached us that a frantic tyrant (for I can call him nothing else), bent upon mischief, and guided by an ignorant and besotted priesthood—led by the most despicable advisers—forgetful of the obligation he owes to his people—forgetful of the duty he owes to that Providence which restored him to his throne,—has in the face of that Providence, and in defiance of that people, declared that he will trample on the liberties of his country, and rule 30,000,000 of its people by the sword. I heartily pray that his advisers will meet with that punishment which they so richly merit. The minister who could give such counsels deserves that his head should be severed from his body and rolled in the dust. If it were possible that any one could dare to give such advice to our King, the same punishment ought to be inflicted upon him, and his head should roll in the dust the same day, before sunset, on which he gave that counsel. Gentlemen, it is no business of ours to interfere with that country; the French have their own liberty in their own keeping, and no nation ever showed itself more disposed to keep it, or seemed to me to have more right to possess it. And I pray to heaven that they may speedily crush their enemies and establish their liberties.”

To keep room for more interesting matter none has been appropriated to the progress of the late King and his family from Rambouillet to the coast. He landed at Poole, in Dorsetshire; and an alderman of that corporation immortalized himself by handing him to a carriage, in which he went to Lulworth, where he cleanses himself with daily confession. For having ordered fusilades upon the people of Paris, he appears to have been enjoined the penance of shooting all day at English pheasants and partridges.

Some of the Ministers who signed the ordinances were discovered in different disguises and arrested. The premier, Prince Polignac, assumed the character of a servant. On being brought in strict custody to St. Lo, he wrote a letter to Baron Pasquier, which is subjoined, as published in the *Chat of the Week*, side by side with an amusing letter of the same tenor, pleasantly purporting to be from an Englishman under similar unfortunate circumstances.

LETTER OF THE PRINCE DE POLIGNAC,

Late Prime Minister of King Charles X., to the President of the French Chamber of Peers.

“Saint Lo, Aug. 17.

“MONSIEUR LE BARON,

“Having been arrested at Granville, at the moment when I was flying from the sad and deplorable events which have just taken place, and seeking an opportunity to retire to the island of Jersey, I have surrendered myself a prisoner into the hands of the Provisional Commission of the Prefecture of the department of La Manche, neither the Procureur du Roi for the arrondissement of Saint Lo nor the *juge d'instruction* having any power, according to the terms of the Charter, to commit me, in case (of which, however, I am ignorant) the Government had given orders for my arrest. ‘It is only by the authority of the Chamber of Peers,’ says article 29 of the Charter, and which, in this respect, is conformable to the old Charter, ‘that a member of the Chamber of Peers can be arrested.’ I know not what steps the Chamber of Peers may take on this subject, or whether it will charge me with the lamentable events of the two days, which I deplore more than any man, which came on with the rapidity of the thunderbolt in the midst of the tempest, and which no human strength nor prudence could arrest, since in those terrible moments it was impossible to know to whom to listen, or to whom to apply, and every man’s efforts were required to defend his own life. My only desire, M. le Baron, is, that I may be permitted to retire to my own home, and there resume those peaceful habits of private life which alone are suited to my taste, and from which I was torn in spite of myself, as is well known to all who are acquainted with me. Vicissitudes enough have filled my days, reverses enough have whitened my head in the course of the stormy life I have led. I cannot in any degree be reproached with having in the time of my prosperity preserved any vengeful recollections against those who used their power with undue severity against me in adversity. Indeed, M. le Baron, in what position should we all be placed, surrounded as we are by those continual changes pre-
sented by the age in which we live, if the political opinions of those who are smitten by the tempest are to become misdemeanors or crimes in the eyes of those who have embraced a more fortunate side of the question? If I cannot obtain permission to retire quietly to my home, I entreat to be allowed to withdraw into a foreign country with my wife and my children. Lastly, if the Chamber of

LETTER OF JOHN TOMKINS

(Commonly called Prince Tomkins, or Folly-Jack), aider and abettor of the cut-throat Jenkins, or slaughtering Charley,

To the Recorder at the Old Bailey.

Newgate, August 17.

MY LORD,—

Having been arrested at Houndsditch, at the moment I was flying from the sad consequences of Mr. Jenkins’s behaviour, and seeking an opportunity to retire to my residence in Five Thieves Alley, I have surrendered myself. How the constable could take me up, I cannot conceive; for it is a violation of the law to stop a man on the high-way, and my attention to those matters is well known. I know not what steps your Lordship and the other Judges may take on this subject, nor whether they will charge me with the lamentable events of Mr. Jenkins’s two days, and of the terrible cutting of throats produced upon his party as well as those whom he attacked,—events which I deplore more than any man, which were quite unexpected (I believe, even on his own part), and which no human fingers or neckcloths could arrest; for in those terrible moments nobody knew what he had been about, and every man’s efforts were required to defend his own neck. My only desire, my Lord Judge, is, that I may be permitted to return to my own home, No. 1, Five Thieves Alley, aforesaid, and there resume those peaceful habits of petty-larceny which are alone suited to my taste, and from which I was torn in spite of all my efforts against Mr. Jenkins’s gin and water, as is well-known to all who are acquainted with my collection of pocket handkerchiefs. I have had enough of throat-cutting; I have had enough of transportation, in the course of the life I have led. I cannot in any degree be reproached with having, in the time of my best tattler-nimming (watch-stealing), any vengeful recollections against those who were unduly severe upon me, when I was last in Newgate. Indeed, Mr. Recorder, what a situation should we be all in, you as well as I, surrounded as we are by the natural vicissitudes of human beings, if the lives of such as get nabbed are to be brought against them by those that have embraced a more successful mode of helping themselves to people’s money. If I cannot obtain permission to retire quietly to Five Thieves Alley, I entreat I may be allowed to withdraw into Rogues’ Harbour. Lastly, if the Judges are determined to put me in jail, I beg to mention York jail as a place I passed a good part of my youth in; or I hope that they

Peers determine to decree my arrest, I solicit that they will fix as the place of my detention the fortress of Ham, in Picardy, where I was for a long time in captivity in my youth, *or in some other fortress at once commodious and spacious.* (Loud laughter.) That of Ham would agree better than any other with the state of my health, which has been for some time enfeebled, and which the late events have greatly injured. The misfortunes of an upright man ought in France to meet with some sympathy; but at all events, M. le Baron, I may almost venture to say that it would be *barbarous* to bring me into the capital at a time when so many prejudices have been raised against me—prejudices which my unsupported voice cannot appease, and which time alone can calm. I have been long and too much accustomed to see all my intentions misrepresented and placed in the most odious light. To you, M. le Baron, I have submitted all my wishes, not knowing to whom I ought to address myself, and at the same time I request you to lay them before those to whom it of right belongs, begging you to accept the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) "The Prince de POLIGNAC.

"P. S. I beg you to do me the favor to acknowledge the receipt of this letter."

will put me somewhere else, where the rooms are well aired, and where there is every convenience for getting gin smuggled in. Mr. Newman's house, I think, would agree with me better than any, my health having suffered much of late from sitting up with Jenkins, and also from the refusal of the constable to let me drink. The misfortunes of a brother Bailey, Mr. Judge, ought to meet with some regard: but at all events I venture to say it would be cruel to bring me before you at the next sessions, when prejudice is so strong against me, and there is no time to let talk die away. I have been too much accustomed to see men of my calling misrepresented, and their practices brought shockingly to light. To you therefore, my Lord Judge, I have submitted all my wishes, not knowing who can understand me better; and I desire you will lay them before the other Judges, begging you to accept the assurances of my particular esteem.

JOHN TOMKINS.

P. S. An answer by return of post would be agreeable.

THE BOURBONS.

Charles (Louis Philippe) X. was the most aged Sovereign in Europe, having been born the 9th of October, 1757. He succeeded his brother, Louis XVIII., whose dissolution occurred in the 69th year of his age, on the 16th of September, 1824, and made his public entry into Paris, as King, on the 27th of the same month. Charles X. (at that period the Count d'Artois) married the 17th of November, 1773, when he was in the 17th year of his age, the Princess Maria Theresa, daughter of Victor Amadeus, the third King of Sardinia, Louis XVIII. having been united, in 1771, to the Princess Maria, a daughter of the same Monarch. By this Princess, who died at Gratz, in Hungary, June 2, 1805, Charles X. had issue Louis Antoine, Duc d'Angouleme, late Dauphin of France, born August 6, 1775, married the 10th of June, 1799, Maria Theresa Charlotte, only surviving child of Louis XVI., born the 19th of December, 1778; Henry Charles, Duc de Berri, married in 1818, Maria Caroline, daughter of Francis I., the late King of the Two Sicilies, by Maria Clementina, sister of the present Emperor of

Austria, by whom the Duc de Berri had issue, Maria Theresa Louisa (Mademoiselle) born September 28, 1819, and Henry Charles Ferdinand, Dieudonné d'Artois (a posthumous Prince), born the 29th of September, 1820. The Duc de Berri was assassinated, in Paris, February 14, 1820.

ABDICATION.

While Charles X. and his profligate ministers were cannonading the people of Paris, William IV., who had recently ascended the throne of England, animated the people of London by appearing in public, and manifesting a free-hearted and kind disposition. Charles fled from the people in arms; William threw himself into the arms of the people. The contrast stirred the pen of ELIA to the effusion below, which he communicated to *The Times*.

THE ROYAL WONDERS.

Two miracles at once! Compell'd by fate,
His tarnish'd throne the Bourbon doth vacate;
While English William,—a diviner thing,—
Of his free pleasure hath put off the king,
The forms of distant old respect lets pass,
And melts his crown into the common mass.
Health to fair France, and fine regeneration!
But England's is the nobler abdication.

CHARLES LAMB.

THREE TIMES THRICE.

There is an historical coincidence which owing to existing circumstances strikes every body as singular. Thrice has the crown of the Capets fallen from the elder to the younger branch, and the consecutive reigns of three brothers have always preceded that change in the reigning family. After Philip le Bel followed the reign of the brothers Louis le Hutin, Philip le Long, and Charles le Bel. Then the sceptre fell into the hands of Valois. The three brothers Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III., finished the career of the royal family, and called the Bourbons to the throne. Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., and Charles X., terminate the list of the monarchs of that family, and the House of Orleans rises in the midst of a tempest.—*The Times.*

FAMILY OF ORLEANS.

Louis Philippe I. (Duc d'Orleans) born the 6th of October, 1773, married November 25, 1809, the Princess Maria Amelia, born December 14, 1782, second daughter of Ferdinand IV., King of the Two Sicilies, sister of Francis I., and aunt to the present Duchess of Orleans, and by whom his Royal Highness has a surviving family of nine children—viz. 1. Ferdinand Louis Philip, Duc de Chartres, born the 8th of September, 1810; 2. Louisa Maria Theresa Charlotte Isabella, Duchess d'Orleans, born April 3, 1812; 3. Maria Christiana Caroline, Duchess de Valois, born April 12, 1813; 4. Louis Charles, Duc de Nemours, born October 25, 1814; 5. Maria Clotilda, born June 3, 1817; 6. Francis Ferdinand Philippe, Duc de Joinville, born August 14, 1818; 7. Charles, Duc de Ponthievre, born July 1, 1820; 8. Henry, Duc d'Aumale, born June 16, 1822; 9. Anthony, Duc de Montpensier, born July 31, 1824. Louis Philippe I. has an only sister unmarried, the Princess Adelaide Eugene Louisa, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, born August 23, 1777.

FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON.

Many excellent men viewed the admiration of the French nation for the military power of Napoleon, and their acquiescence in his despotism, as a national blindness, which might end in utter dereliction from the principles of Freedom. A prophetic anticipation that France would again break her bonds closes the following lay of a distinguished minstrel of Liberty, the late Mr. EDWARD RUSHTON, of Liverpool.

TO FRANCE.

Canst thou, who burst with proud disdain
Each high-wrought link of slavery's chain;
Canst thou, who cleansed with noble rage
Th' Aegan filth of many an age;
Canst thou, whose mighty vengeance hurl'd
Destruction on thy foes—the world,
Yet bade the infuriate slaughter cease,
When vanquish'd despots whined for peace;
Canst thou, O France! from heights like these descend,
And, with each nerve unbraced,—to proud Napoleon bend!

Was it for this thy warriors rose,
And paralyzed vast hordes of foes?
For this, all prodigal of life,
They rush'd amid the bellowing strife,
And, like the desert's burning breath,
Where'er they rush'd, they scattered death?
For this, with many a gaping wound,
Thy daring sons have strew'd the ground,
And girt with smoking gore, and hills of slain,
Have gloried in their cause, and spur'd the oppressor's chain?

When vaunting freemen join'd the array,
And gloomy squadrons prow'd for prey,
Was it for this, beneath the wave
Thy seamen found an oozy grave?
For this, when all around was wreck,
And mingled horrors stain'd the deck,
When slowly setting towards their fate,
While the broad banners war'd elate,
Was it for this they VIVA LA NATION! cried,
Scorn'd the submissive act, and felt the o'erwhelming tide?

Was it for this the sorrowing sire
Has seen his bleeding boy expire?
For this, the matron, sad and pale,
Has told her son's disastrous tale?
For this, the widow oft has press'd,
With tears, the nursing to her breast?
Was it to lift the ambitious soul
Of ONE above the law's control,
That thus dire war left millions to deplore,
And the broad earth and seas were tinged with human gore?

No!—fearless France shall ne'er be found
Like the huge brute on India's ground,
That through the ranks impetuous sweeps,
And loads the field with mangled heaps,
And yet, each scene of carnage o'er,
Obeys that god he felt before;
No!—fearless France shall still maintain
Those rights that millions died to gain,
And soon, though laurel wreaths her chains adorn,
Shall show a grov'ling world that chains are still her scorn.

O France! thy energetic soul
Will never brook unjust control;
Will never crouch to Slavery's load,
Nor bear the oppressor's iron goad:
No!—France, who bade her monarch fall,
Will ne'er before this idol crawl;
Will ne'er receive with abject awe
A martial miscreant's will as law;
No;—banish fear, ye friends of human kind,
France to a giant's arm unites a towering mind.

He who o'erwhelms his country's foe,
Yet lays his country's freedom low,
Must fear, though girt with guards and state,
From each bold arm the stroke of fate;
And thou, aspiring warrior, thou
To whom the weak and timid bow;
Thou splendid curse, whose actions prove
That states may be undone by love:
Thou foe to man, upheld by martial dream,
Thy march is on a mine—thy every breath is death!

And when this meteor's baleful rays
Are lost in Freedom's ardent blaze,
Yes, when indignant France shall rise,
Her form all nerve, all fire her eyes,
And, scorning e'en the bayonet's sway,
Shall sweep the audacious wretch away;—
Then, with degraded mien, no more
Shall man his fellow-man adore;
Then o'er his powers shall Principle preside,
And the bright star of Truth shall prove his polar guide.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH REVOLUTIONS.

The following Historical Parallel is from *Le Globe*, a French Journal.

ENGLISH REVOLUTION.

THE STUARTS.

Charles I.
Resistance of the Parliament.
Refusal of Subsidies.
Parliament Dissolved
The Long Parliament
Increasing irritation
Charles I. at York
Civil war
Flight of Charles, taken at the Isle of Wight
Trial and death of Charles
English Republic
Oliver Cromwell, Protector.
Parliament dissolved
New Parliament
Military despotism and foreign aid
Alliance of Cromwell with Mazarin and Louis XIV.
Fall of Richard Cromwell
General Monck
Restoration
Charles II.
Promise to maintain the Constitution
Amnesty (excepting to Regicides)
Cromwell's army disbanded
Triumph of the Royalists
Parliamentary discussions
Whigs and Tories
Catholic and Royalist
Reaction
Death of Russell and Sydney
Influence of the D. of York, brother to the King James II.
Fine speech on his accession; deception
Triumph of the Catholics and Tories
Jefferies and his accomplices
National indignation
William of Nassau
Fall of James and the Stuarts, called the Glorious Revolution

Of all the authorities upon which people can rely, in a grand political crisis, history is the most powerful. In the present state of affairs it will be seen on which side it leans.

EX-DEY, AND EX-KING.

The surrender of Algiers, was commemorated by a splendid pageant. On Sunday, the 11th July, Charles X. attended by an immense retinue, proceeded to the church of Notre Dame, followed by 28 coaches, with eight horses each. A great multitude collected to witness the procession; and there was an occasional attempt at "Vive le Roi," but the exclamation died away a solitary sound. It was altogether one of the most *mournful rejoicings* that can possibly be imagined.

On Wednesday the 28th of July, while the people were braving his troops in battle, and hurling him from the throne, the *Semaphore of Marseilles* published the following extract

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE CAPETS.

Louis XVI.
Assembly of Notables
Refusal of Subsidies
Oath of the Tennis Court
Legislative Assemblies
Increasing irritation
Louis XVI. at Versailles
Emigration, Vendee, &c.
Flight of Louis, taken at Varennes
Trial and death of Louis
French Republic
Bonaparte, Consul
Eighteenth Brumaire
Senate
Military despotism and foreign aid
Marriage of Napoleon with an Archduchess of Austria
Fall of Napoleon
Talleyrand, Fouche, &c.
Restoration
Louis XVIII.
Charter
Amnesty, except to Regicides
The army of the Loire, ditto
Triumph of the Royalists
Debates in the Chambers
Liberals and Ultras
Catholic and Royalist
Reaction
Death of Berton, Bories, &c.
Influence of the Pavilion Marsan
Charles X.
Fine speech on his accession; deception
Triumph of the Jesuits and Ultras
Villele and Polignac's ministry
National indignation
Philip of Orleans
Fall of Charles and the Bourbons, the Glorious Revolution

of a document from Algiers:—"In the name of God, &c., I renounce the absolute sovereignty to the victorious and grand Charles the Tenth: and I agree to pay him the tribute; and will also furnish him with the contingent, obeying him in the same manner and in the same form as my predecessors and the Dey of Algiers. I also expect to receive from the virtuous Charles the Tenth all succor and protection that a subject has to expect from his legitimate King."

When the Ex-Dey of Algiers was informed of the Revolution in France he exclaimed,—"God is Great!—the King of France dethroned me, and now he is dethroned himself!—God is Great!"

MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS—LOUIS PHILIPPE I.

Although the Duke of Orleans, now Philippe I. King of the French, was usually called a cousin of Charles X., the relationship they bear to each other is very remote. The common ancestor of both was Louis XIII., in 1640, and, consequently, as the line of each lengthened from him, the consanguinity of the descendants became more distant.

Louis Philippe, eldest son of the late Louis Philippe Joseph Duc d'Orleans, and of Louisa Marie Adelaide, daughter of the admiral Duc de Bourbon Penthièvre, grandson to Louis XIV., was born on October 6, 1773. Until 1782 he was styled Duc de Valois; but afterwards Duc de Chartres. Early in the Revolution his father dropped his title, and under the name of Egalité (Equality) associated himself with Robespierre and other men of sanguinary violence. At nine years of age the Duc de Chartres and his brothers, the Duc de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais, were entrusted to the care of the celebrated Madame de Genlis, who conducted his entire education upon the plan of Rousseau's *Emilius*, until he was seventeen years old. Early in childhood she accustomed him to serve himself without assistance—to despise every kind of effeminacy—to sleep habitually on a wooden bed, merely covered with a straw mat—to face the sun, cold, and rain—to habituate himself to fatigue, by daily violent exercises, and by walking five or six leagues with leaden soles to his shoes. She instructed him in the principal modern languages, and various branches of useful knowledge; taught him to bleed, and dress wounds; and during a whole year carried him regularly to the Hotel Dieu to dress the wounds of the poor. Finally, she inspired him with a love of personal independence, and a taste for travelling. Since his great ancestor Henry IV. no other prince had been so trained to hardihood. Even at the present day, few persons, in any station, have been so properly and thoroughly qualified to engage in the business of life.

When fifteen years old, during a tour with Madame de Genlis, and his brothers, and their sister, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, into Normandy, he was at Mont St. Michael, a place then remarkable for a cage in which a Dutch editor had been confined seventeen years, for writing against the lawless aggressions of Louis XIV. Madame de Genlis, deeming this an opportunity for enabling her pupils to take a lesson, enquired of the people in the neighbourhood respecting the "prisoner's cage."—"I interrogated them," she says, "about the famous *iron cage*. They told me it was not of iron, but of wood,

framed of enormous logs, between which were interstices of the width of three or four fingers'-breadth. It was about fifteen years since any prisoners were confined there wholly, but they still put in those who were obstreperous for twenty-four hours, or two days, though the place was horribly damp and unwholesome, and though there was another prison as strong, and more healthy. I expressed surprise, and the Prior assured me that it was his intention, at some future time, to destroy this monument of cruelty. Upon this Mademoiselle d'Orleans and her brothers cried out, that they should be delighted to see it destroyed in their presence. The Prior said that he could afford them the satisfaction they desired the next morning, and that this would be assuredly the finest entertainment he could give them.—A few hours before our departure for St. Michael, the Prior, followed by the monks, two carpenters, one of the Swiss of the Castle, and the greater part of the prisoners, who, at our request, were allowed to be present, accompanied us to the place containing this horrible cage. In order to reach it, we traversed caverns so dark that we were obliged to use lighted flambeaux. After descending many steps, we reached a frightful cavern, where stood this abominable cage. It was extremely small, and placed on ground so damp that the water ran under it. The Duke of Chartres, with enthusiastic expression, and with a force beyond his years, gave the first blow with his axe to the cage, after which the carpenters cut down the door, and removed some of the wood. I never witnessed any thing so interesting as the transports, the acclamations, and the applauses of the prisoners, during this demolition. The Swiss regarded the operation with the greatest signs of grief. I mentioned this to the Prior, who told me that the man regretted the destruction of the cage, because he made money by showing it to strangers. The Duke of Chartres gave ten louis to him, saying that for the future, instead of showing the cage to travellers, he would have to point out to them the place where it once stood, and that surely that view would be much more agreeable to them." At so early an age such an expression bespoke a rectitude of mind which marked the desire and act of destroying the cage as more than boyish.

The destruction of the Bastille in July 1789 was another opportunity for the instruction of youth upon Madame de Genlis's plan. She says, "The desire I had of showing my pupils every thing, induced me to come from St. Leu, and spend a few hours at Paris, to witness

from the garden of Beaumarchais the assembling of the whole population of the capital, for the purpose of pulling down and demolishing the Bastille. This redoubtable fortress was covered with men, women, and children, working with unequalled ardor, on the loftiest parts of the building, even on its turrets. The astonishing number of these voluntary workmen, their activity, their enthusiasm, their pleasure at seeing the fall of that terrible monument of tyranny, their avenging hands, which seemed consecrated by Providence, and which annihilated with astonishing rapidity the work of many centuries—all this spoke at once to the imagination and to the heart. No one had been more shocked than I at the excesses committed at the taking of the Bastille, but, as I had also been witness for twenty years of many arbitrary imprisonments, I never cast my eyes on that fortress without shuddering, and its demolition afforded me unspeakable delight." It is not to be doubted that, with such an instructress, the Duc de Chartres witnessed this extraordinary scene with equal pleasure, and derived a moral from it which influenced his public and private life. At an age when the passions develop themselves he was training in virtuous and manly habits, under a woman of cheerful temper and excellent sense. His conduct was amiable and prudent, and he acquired a sedate and reserved character, which subsequent events strengthened and confirmed.

About the same time Madame de Genlis received a letter from him which she justly calls "most touching," and cites the passage from it by which she was most affected—"I propose," he says, "to deprive myself of my pocket-money up to the conclusion of my education, that is to say, up to the first of April 1790, and to devote that money to beneficent purposes. On the first of each month we will decide the use that is to be made of it. I beg you to receive on this subject my most sacred word of honor that I should wish this to remain a secret between ourselves; but you know well that all my secrets are, and always shall be, yours." He was then barely sixteen years old.

On attaining seventeen, his father, the Duc d'Orleans, informed Madame de Genlis that the education of the Duc de Chartres had terminated. His father was immensely rich, and according to a usage of the French court the Duc de Chartres was provided with a separate establishment, and a large annual allowance, as a Prince of the Blood Royal. It may be imagined that now, being independent of control, he indulged in pleasures usual to youth of high birth, and that, dazzled by the attractions of a luxurious me-

tropolis, and with the power of enjoying its novelties and charms to excess, he lost sight and shunned the presence of his former monitor. Not so. He had been taught the importance, and now he realised the lesson, of self-control. The first use he made of his liberty was to acquaint Madame de Genlis that until he was eighteen he should visit her daily at Belle Chasse, to take his lessons as usual. He kept his word.

By the wish of Madame de Genlis, her exemplary pupil became a member of the Philanthropic Society. In her presence he was informed of a decree of the National Convention annulling the rights of elder brothers: he embraced his younger brother the Duc de Montpensier, whom he tenderly loved, and exclaimed, "Ah, how delighted I am!"

An earlier decree allowed colonels-proprietors of regiments the option of either quitting the service or assuming active command. In consideration of his high birth, the court had given two to the Duc de Chartres. He entered the national service, by retaining one, the 14th Dragoons, and in June 1791 he joined it in garrison at Vendôme.

Within a few days after taking the command of his regiment, he had bathed in the river, and was dressing on the shore, when another bather was seized with a violent cramp, and cried for assistance; the Duke instantly jumped into the water, swam to him, seized him by the hair, and, at the imminent hazard of his own life, brought the man to the shore. He was a custom-house officer, and the next day he went to the Duke's, with his wife and children, and threw himself in gratitude at his feet. The man was saved in the middle of the day, in the presence of many spectators, and the humanity and courage of the Duke were rewarded with the solemn presentation of a civic crown by the city. He enclosed a leaf of it in an affectionate letter to Madame de Genlis, and warmly thanked her for having made him learn to swim. "In fact," says Madame de Genlis, "when I sent him and his brothers to the swimming school, I often told them that it was a branch of knowledge they ought to acquire, both for themselves and for others." Such an education as Madame de Genlis bestowed on these youths is unknown to England.

About this time the Duc de Chartres, at the instigation of his father, the Duc d'Orleans, became a member of the Jacobin club; and at a meeting of the club in Vendôme, on the 7th of August, 1791, he acquiesced in the principles of the revolution, and laid on the table the decoration of the order of the Holy Ghost, which he had been accustomed to wear. He was then in his nineteenth year.

That he had an enlightened love of liberty was manifested by signal humanity and respect for order. A priest who had refused to conform to the new constitution was accused by the infuriated populace of Vendome with having derided the procession of a constitutional curate. The Duc de Chartres courageously interposed, and rescued the man, at the moment he was about to perish under their brutal rage.

The Duke marched with his regiment and joined the army of the north. His first military achievements were under General Biron. He fought in the action of Quievran on the 28th of April, 1792, and in the action of Bossu the next day. As *mareschal de camp*, under General Luckner, he commanded a brigade of cavalry in the action before Courtray. In July his brigade was detached, and served with the army of 25,000 men under General D'Harville, ordered to oppose 80,000 Prussians under the Duke of Brunswick. In the different engagements he was distinguished by valor and penetration. He attained the rank of lieutenant-general. On the 20th of September he commanded the second line of Kellerman's army, at the battle of Valmy, and his obstinate defence of a mill in front of the village contributed mainly to the success of the day. He was offered the post of governor of Strasbourg, which he declined, because he must have remained inactive. He joined the army of Flanders, under General Dumouriez, who entrusted him with the command of the second column, and on the 5th of November he bivouacked with his division on the heights of Jemappe. On the following day, he commanded the centre of Dumouriez's army, and commenced the attack in the decisive battle of Jemappe. At the head of a column he rallied the troops, when the column fled in the heat of the engagement, led them back to the charge, broke the Austrian line, and decided the success of this celebrated battle. His military abilities and persevering courage were mentioned with high praise by Dumouriez in his despatches. On the 13th he headed the right wing of the army at Anderlecht; entered Brussels with Dumouriez the next day; and, on the 27th, was engaged for ten hours in the attack and route of the Austrian rear-guard at Varroux, which put the French in possession of Liege. On these occasions his brothers also had commands.

At the battle of Nerevinde, in 1793, his friend, General Valence, who married the daughter of Madame de Genlis, gave his own command of the centre of Dumouriez's army to the Duc de Chartres, and took the right wing. Dumouriez lost the battle, Valence was wounded, and the management of

the retreat devolved on the Duke, and was conducted in a masterly manner before a greatly superior force.

In several other engagements the Duc de Chartres commanded with distinction. In a memorial by Dumouriez against the Duc d'Orleans, he says, "his sons have effectually served their country in the armies I commanded, without displaying, at any time, the least tinge of ambition. For the eldest of them [the Duc de Chartres] I entertain the highest friendship founded on the best merited esteem."

After the execution of Louis XVI. Dumouriez, who had desired to see order restored to France under a constitutional monarchy, was unjustly suspected of designing to place the late Duc d'Orleans on the throne of France.

The National Convention sent commissioners to arrest him. Dumouriez seized the commissioners, and sent them prisoners to the Austrians; and, to save his own life, fled for protection within the Austrian lines. About the same time, the brave Duc de Chartres and his brothers had been unjustly proscribed and declared outlaws, and a decree for their arrest was issued by the National Convention. On the 6th of April, 1793, the Duc de Chartres escaped to Mons, the head-quarters of the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg. The Arch-duke Charles offered him a Lieutenant-Generalship, the command of a division in the Austrian service, and the honors due to his birth. These proffers he immediately declined; for he had resolved never to bear arms against his country: the only favor he required or accepted was a passport.

The brothers of the Duc de Chartres were arrested in their flight and conducted to Paris. On arriving at the prison of the Abbaye, the Count de Beaujolais, then about thirteen years old, was asked, "Are you an aristocrat?" "Yes," he undauntedly answered:—"Were you acquainted with your father's projects?" "No." "Have you had any communication with Monsieur de Sillery?" "Oh fie!" he archly replied. These youths were consigned to rigorous confinement at Marseilles. Their father, the Duc d'Orleans, was dungeoned in the Conciergerie at Paris. Their excellent mother, who had been separated from her depraved husband before the Revolution, on account of the ill treatment she received at his hands, was also needlessly confined.

While the brothers had been thus engaged and were thus circumstanced, their sister, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, with whom they had been reared, was taken charge of by Madame de Genlis, and brought to England in October, 1791. These ladies resided about three

months at Bath, several months at Bury St. Edmunds, and made a tour through different parts of the kingdom. On account of their connection with the late Duke, and their liberal sentiments, they received many insults from the insolence of emigrants of the old Court of France. In September, 1792, the Convention issued a decree respecting emigrants, which compelled Madame de Genlis, for the sake of Mademoiselle d'Orleans, to return with her immediately to Paris. On the following day, they were ordered to quit the capital within forty-eight hours, and France without delay. They retired to Tournay, and from thence, on the French entering Flanders, to a temporary asylum at Zug, in Switzerland.

The Duc de Chartres had remained at Mons only twenty-four hours, while his passport was preparing, and with less than a hundred Louis-d'ors, being the whole of his wealth, set out for Switzerland, and joined his sister at Zug. The magistrates of the town would not permit them to remain, and they withdrew to Zurich, whence they were also expelled. From the moment of the Duke's arrival in Switzerland, he was persecuted by the aristocratical party there; and, knowing that Robespierre would hold his relatives in France responsible for his flight, he determined to disappear so completely that it should be supposed he was no longer in existence. He therefore placed his sister in a convent, and traversed the loftiest mountains of the Alps on foot, by an interesting and wholly unknown route. As he had left with his sister nearly all the money he possessed, he passed four months of his retreat in extreme privation. On great days and holidays his expenditure, for lodging and dieting himself and a faithful valet, who could not be prevailed upon to quit him, amounted to 30 sols. (1s. 3d.) Being at length reduced to his last louis, the Duke was obliged to relinquish his only servant.

No man, more than the Duc de Chartres, deserved the respect due to misfortune. He was now scarcely twenty years old, and had commanded in the field of battle, with the most impetuous and distinguished gallantry, and, at this age, when reason scarcely begins to allay the heat of youthful blood, his firmness and constancy were unalterable. He calmly suffered the severity of his lot, without even seeming to regard it as out of the ordinary course. On the departure of his servant, which was about the end of the year 1793, he heard of a vacancy in the professorship of mathematics at Reichenau, a college of the Grisons, and, with others, he became a candidate for it, under a borrowed name: he satisfactorily replied to the questions of the

examiners, and obtained the professorship. The name he assumed was Corby. He recollected it as belonging to a shoe-maker in the Palais Royal; and it served to recal to his mind his beloved country, and the palace of his ancestors. About this time Robespierre sent the Duc d'Orleans to the scaffold, and consequently the Duc de Chartres succeeded to his father's title.

In the college of Reichenau the Duc d'Orleans taught mathematics in the German language, besides geography, history, and the French and English languages; and so won the affection of the pupils by his kindness, and the respect of the masters by his intellectual attainments, that M de Salis, who had persecuted him as Duc d'Orleans, without having known him personally, entertained great respect for the good sense and merits of the young professor of Reichenau, whom he knew only as M. Corby, and invited him to become the preceptor of his sons. The duke declined, and for eight months he remained in his college, rising at four o'clock every morning, and fulfilling his duties with scrupulous punctuality and care. The death of Robespierre, and a more moderate exercise of power in the succeeding government, removing his apprehensions for the safety of his mother and brothers, he relinquished his professorship, with an honorable certificate of the services and abilities of M. Corby, from the authorities of the college. The simplicity of his manners had prevented the least suspicion of his rank. He withdrew to occupy a Swiss cottage, and renewed an affectionate correspondence with friends, who transmitted him a small sum of money.

It was the desire of the Duke to go to America, but there were difficulties he could not surmount, and he walked through several countries in Europe. He economised, and maintained his health by travelling on foot. In that manner, about the middle of 1794, he arrived at Hamburg. From thence he went to Copenhagen, explored Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and visited the Mahlstrom, or Great Whirlpool. He penetrated to the North Cape, and within thirteen degrees of the pole, and, wandering in Finland, returned by the way of Sweden to Hamburg. On his route he had been recognised, and offered military command, but refused it, in pursuance of his resolve never to serve against France. His mind had expanded with his studies in the college of the Grisons. It was strengthened and elevated by self-examination and reflection amidst the sublimest scenes of nature; and by mixing with persons of all classes and, opinions, he gained a correct knowledge of mankind. Probably such acquire-

ments were never united in an individual of such station;—perhaps, no individual of any station ever rose to high moral dignity without severe and long probation in adversity.

The Duc d'Orleans had contemplated retirement to America, with a view of procuring the means of independent existence. Some land in that country, which required clearing, was offered to him by an American: in answering the proposition he expressed himself in terms which beautifully exemplify his character. He says,—“I am heartily disposed to labor for the acquisition of an independence. Misfortune has smitten, but, thank God, it has not prostrated me. I am more than happy that misfortunes in my youth prevented the formation of habits difficult to break through, and that prosperity was snatched from me before I could either use or abuse it.” He that has dispositions and feelings like these may be injured, but cannot be destroyed. A man that has conquered himself is unsubduable by the evils of life—in his integrity he smiles upon afflictions, as an able commander in an impregnable fortress during an assault, and holds out against the combined forces of the world.

From the escape of the Duc d'Orleans to Mons in April 1793, and during his pedestrian wanderings, his brothers had remained in prison, frequently apprehensive of death from the factions alternately ruling in France. In 1796, while they were in the fourth year of their imprisonment, the Duke received a letter from his mother, in which she earnestly expresses a hope “that the prospect of relieving the misfortunes of his afflicted mother, and his unhappy family, may induce his generous spirit to contribute to the peace and security of his country.” The Duchess acquainted him that the French Executive Directory would liberate his brothers on condition that he left Europe, and that his brothers followed his example. The Duke affectionately answered her—“When my dearest mother shall have received this letter, her orders will have been executed—I shall already have departed for America. I seem to be in a dream when I think how soon I shall again embrace my brothers and be re-united to them,—I, who formerly imagined that our separation was impossible! Think not, however, that in anything I complain of my destiny. Oh, no! I feel too sensibly how much more frightful it might really be—I shall not even deem it unfortunate, if, after being restored to my brothers, I learn that my dear mother is also well and comfortable, and especially if I may indulge the thought of contributing in any manner to the tranquillity and happiness of France.

For my country I cannot feel any thing personal as a sacrifice—and, whilst I live, there is none that I am not prepared to make for her.” He immediately prepared to set out under the stipulations of the Directory, and with their passport embarked at Hamburg for an asylum in the transatlantic world.

In October, 1796, the Duke of Orleans arrived at Philadelphia, where in the February following he experienced the pleasure of a most affectionate meeting with his brothers, the Duc de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais, on their landing from France. They mutually resolved to part no more, and arranged a mode of living together in mutual happiness. They kept one servant. Attended by him, they made an extensive tour, in which they visited General Washington, who cordially and hospitably received and entertained them at Mount Vernon. On parting from their venerable host, they penetrated into the interior, went to the great lakes, traversed forests and savannahs, and spent much time in living among the native Indians.

While in this seclusion, the Executive Directory issued a decree, dated the 4th of September, 1797, ordering the immediate shooting of any person who should propose to recal the Orleans Family to France.

On the return of the Duc d'Orleans and his brothers from the interior of America to Philadelphia, their residence in that city was enlivened by intelligent society, until they set out for New York, whence they went to Massachusetts and other states, leisurely sojourning in each, particularly at New Orleans. They enquired into the institutions and government of the union and the different states, observed their operation, and acquainted themselves with the laws and constitution of England. While thus occupied, they learned that their mother, the Duchess of Orleans, had been forced into Spain. Anxiously desiring to see her, they proceeded down the Ohio and the Mississippi to the Havannah, where the Duke of Orleans wrote to the King of Spain for permission to pass into that kingdom for the purpose of visiting her. After a tedious waiting of eighteen months at the Havannah, no answer was returned to the application, and they embarked for the Isle of Providence, whence they sailed in an English vessel to Halifax. On their arrival they were kindly welcomed by the Duke of Kent, then Governor of Nova Scotia. Here they spent some time, during which the Duke of Kent entertained them handsomely, and frequently and pressingly invited them to take up their residence in England. They returned to New York, whence they sailed in a packet-boat for Falmouth.

In February, 1800, the Duc d'Orleans

with his brothers arrived in London, and was formally introduced at the court of St. James's. After a short stay, the Duke made another effort to see his mother, and sailed for a Spanish port, but in consequence of the war he was not allowed to land, the ship was ordered away, and he returned, smarting with disappointment, to England. The three brothers took up their residence at Twickenham, and lived in retirement, frowned upon from Hartwell, where Louis XVIII. lived in the midst of adherents to the old *regime*. The independent spirit and known liberal sentiments of the Duc d'Orleans and his brothers were barely tolerated. Neither of them would accept of a single shilling from the English Government, and, as the Royalists at Hartwell were in the receipt of pensions, this was an additional offence—such an offence as could only have been committed by those who loved their country better than the “right divine of kings to govern wrong.” Unmoved by the misrepresentations of the frivolous and the envious they spent their time in mutual instruction and rational pleasures, without an inroad upon their happiness, until the health of the two younger brothers gradually declined. The Duke de Montpensier fell into a consumption, and to the inexpressible grief of his brothers died in May 1807. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. This affliction increased certain symptoms of the same disease in the Count de Beaujolais. In the following year he was advised to go to a milder climate, and was attended to Malta by the Duc d'Orleans, whose attentions to him were unremitting and unavailing; for he died a few days after their landing. Thus bereaved, the Duc d'Orleans left Malta for Messina, and visited the court of Palermo. Thence he went to Gibraltar, and then returned to England.

The Duke's sister, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, whom in 1793 he had placed in a convent at Bremgarten, had removed to the convent of Fribourg under the protection of her aunt the Princess Conti, who was a royalist by birth, and by devotion to the court. Madame de Genlis corresponded with her pupil in this retirement until she sent her, in a letter, a little miniature, representing, on a blue ground, a red and white rose in a green box. The Princess of Conti said that they were the tri-colors, and consequently a revolutionary sign. In vain Mademoiselle d'Orleans represented that the colors were five, seeing that there were also brown stalks and green leaves. The Princess of Conti persisted in her notion, and forbade her to write to Madame de Genlis. Mademoiselle d'Orleans found means of at once obeying and of letting her former preceptress hear of her.

She confided her vexation to her confessor, begging him to write, which he did punctually, during more than eighteen months. The Princess Conti and her charge afterwards went to Bavaria and then into Hungary, where Mademoiselle d'Orleans remained until the Princess died. In 1802 her mother, the venerable Duchess of Orleans, then residing in Catalonia, wishing to see her once more, sent a lady to conduct her from Presburg, and in the month of March they joyfully met after a separation of many years, and lived together at Figueras. In 1808 the French invaded Spain, suddenly bombarded Figueras, and the ladies were compelled to escape in the night, and seek shelter with the Spaniards in arms. Information of their situation reached the Duc d'Orleans. He had arranged to convey them from the scene of war. The Duchess preferred to remain in Spain, but sent her daughter to join the Duke. Mademoiselle d'Orleans, expecting to find her brother at Malta, arrived there after his departure; she sought him at Gibraltar with like ill success; she then came to England, and missed him at London. Hastening to Portsmouth, she met with him just as he was about to embark in an English frigate for the Mediterranean, and they sailed together for Palermo.

At the former visit of the Duc d'Orleans to the court of Sicily, he had become attached to the Princess Amelia, daughter of Ferdinand IV., who had been educated by a lady of singular merit. This princess possessed many amiable qualities and domestic qualifications, which she had exercised in a season of adversity, to the astonishment of most, and the admiration of all, of the court ladies. In 1798, on the invasion of the French, she had been hastily driven from Italy, to take refuge in Sicily with her brother, a child of six years, who perished during the horrors of a tempestuous and dangerous voyage. On her landing, she was in great distress from the death of her brother—in a new residence—in a strange country,—with only a trifling pittance, and she endured many privations; but the qualifications she had derived from an excellent education her industry turned to account, and she preserved herself from dependence. This was the lady whom the Duc d'Orleans esteemed, and she equally esteemed him.

It was on a visit to the Princess Amelia, the object of his affection, at Palermo, that the Duke embarked with his sister. The marriage between the duke and the princess was settled. Besides his sister, he had but one dear relative—his mother; and he was anxious that both should be present at the only ceremony in the world, perhaps,

that could contribute to his happiness. He had commissioned the Chevalier de Broval to arrange the means of conveying his venerated parent from a Spanish port to the island of Minorca; this was effected, and the duke himself sailed to Port Mahon, whence he brought his mother to Palermo, where, for the first time in sixteen years, the members of the Orleans family met together. On the 25th of November, 1809, the duke's marriage was solemnized in their presence.

In May, 1810, the regency of Cadiz sent a frigate with despatches to the Duc d'Orleans, requesting him to accept of a military command in Catalonia. He went on board—landed at Taragona—was received with distinguished honors—viewed the fortifications of the place—hastened to Cadiz—but did not receive the commission he had been solicited to accept. The government of Spain was divided by faction, and he returned to Palermo in September, a few days after the birth of his first son. Shortly afterwards political dissensions commenced in Sicily, and agitated the island for four years. In these the duke took no part except to conciliate. During this period he had another son and two daughters.

On the recal of Louis XVIII. to France, by the operations of the combined armies, the Duc d'Orleans proceeded to Paris alone, where he made a short stay, and then returned to Sicily for his family. Shortly after their arrival, Louis XVIII. appointed him colonel-general of the Hussars. On the news of Napoleon's landing from Elba, in March 1815, the king ordered the duke to Lyons; but effectual resistance could not be made in that quarter, and the duke hastened back to Paris. On the 16th the king appointed him to command the army of the North, with the Duke of Treviso (Mortier). The duke adopted every possible means to secure the fidelity of the troops to the royal cause. The king was at Lisle, in person. It was his desire to make a stand there with the household troops, and the force that could be obtained from the National Guard, but all endeavour was fruitless, and to avoid capture he hastened away. On the 24th the Duc d'Orleans followed him. A French paper reports that, when the duke took leave of his officers, he said to one of them, "Go, and resume the national cockade. I feel honored by having worn it, and would wish to wear it still." If he said this, it was in reference to his having served under the tri-color early in the revolution. On quitting Lisle he addressed the following letter to Mortier:—

"My dear Marshal,—I give up to you entirely the command which I have had the happiness of exercising conjointly with you

in the department of the North. I am too good a Frenchman to sacrifice the interests of France because new misfortunes compel me to quit it. I go to hide myself in retirement and oblivion. It only remains for me to release you from all the orders which I have given you, and to recommend you to do what your excellent judgment and patriotism may suggest as best for the interests of France.

"LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

On this letter being shown to Napoleon, he turned to the Duc de Bassano and said, "See what the Duke of Orleans has written to Mortier. This letter does him honor; he always had a French heart."

During the Hundred Days, the Duc d'Orleans retired to England. Louis XVIII. was again seated on the throne of France, and the Duke returned to Paris, but visited this country afterwards. In the summer of 1816 he was residing at Twickenham, and received a respectful invitation from the Society for the relief of Distressed Schoolmasters to honor their annual dinner in London with his company. He addressed an answer to the Treasurer of the Society, regretting his inability to attend, inclosing a liberal donation for the charity, and adding that "Among the motives which made him feel an attachment to schoolmasters was that of having been himself *once* a member of the profession. It was one of the many vicissitudes of fortune which had fallen to his lot, that, at a period of severe distress and persecution, he had the good luck of being admitted as teacher in a college, where he gave lessons regularly for the space of eight months. He hoped, therefore, that the Society for distressed Schoolmasters would permit him to tender his mite as a fellow-schoolmaster." It is affirmed that some prophecies have a double sense. Mr. Brougham's memorable saying, "the *Schoolmaster* is abroad," and his views of what the Schoolmaster was capable of effecting, were in one sense almost prophetic. The Duc d'Orleans, of ancient royal ancestry, and affianced to royalty—with the blood of Henry the Great running in his veins—with a landed income far greater than the richest in France to support his title—voluntarily fell into the ranks of a Society of Schoolmasters, and called himself "a fellow Schoolmaster." True, indeed, it is figuratively, that "the schoolmaster is abroad;" and that, figuratively and literally, "the schoolmaster" is enthroned,—teaching nations how to live.

It happened that, in the same year, 1816, during the absence of the late Duke of Kent at Brussels, his birth-day, November 2, was celebrated by a splendid public festival, at

Fishmongers' Hall. The Duc d'Orleans, as a personal and warmly-attached friend of the Duke of Kent, was one of the numerous guests. On giving the health of the royal visitor, the Lord Mayor, as chairman, particularly congratulated him on many circumstances connected with his residence in England. The Duc d'Orleans returned thanks in a brief but elegant address, delivered with peculiar fluency and force. He had been engaged, he said, as was flatteringly observed by the Lord Mayor, in rearing his infant family in this country, and the best acknowledgment he could make, in return for the many kindnesses he had received here, was the assurance that, in his parental instructions, he should ever inculcate in the minds of his children the purest principles of the British constitution, and an endearing attachment to its institutions and liberties.

There existed a warm and intimate friendship between the Duc d'Orleans and the late Duke of Kent, who, a short time before his death, wrote a letter with this passage:—"The Duc d'Orleans is my particular friend, and I consider him, without a single exception, as one of the most judicious and sensible men that I ever knew, or can ever hope to know. He is perfectly well disposed; but has many illiberal enemies among those who, with most cruel injustice, visit upon him their just hatred of the father."

Paul Courier, the vine dresser, a French writer, distinguished for talent, and honored for honesty, two qualities seldom combined, in a letter printed in 1822, says:—

"I love the Duke of Orleans, because, although born a prince, he deigned to become a man. He never made any promise to me; but, had the occasion occurred, I would have trusted in him, and, the compact once made. I think he would have adhered to it without deception, without deliberating about it with gentlemen, or consulting Jesuits on the subject. My reason for thinking so is this:—He is of our own time—of this age, not of another; and has seen little of what we call the *ancien regime*. He fought in our ranks, and therefore is not afraid of inferior officers. He afterwards became an emigrant, contrary to his wish; but he never made war against us, knowing too well what was due to his native soil, and that one cannot be in the right against one's country. He was aware of that and many other things which are not to be learned in the rank to which he belonged. Fortune willed that he should descend from that rank, and, while young, live like ourselves. In France he fought our common enemies; out of France he labored for his daily bread. It cannot be said of him that 'he has forgot nothing, and learned

nothing.' Among foreigners his business was instruction, not asking alms. He did not urge Pitt, nor implore Coburg, to avenge the cause of aristocracy by ravaging our plains and burning our villages. Since his return he has not founded masses and seminaries, nor endowed convents, at our expense; but, respectable in his conduct and in his morals, he has given an example which preaches better than the missionaries. In a word, he is a good man. For my part, I wish that all princes were like him: none of them would lose by that, and we should be gainers. If he should ever govern, he will put many things in order, not merely by the prudence which he may possess, but by another virtue not less considerable, but too little celebrated—I mean his economy; a citizen-like quality, if you will, which the court abhors in a prince, but which is so valuable, so excellent, for us tax payers. What do I say?—so divine, that with it I would almost quit him for every other quality. While I speak of him in this way, it is not because I know him better than you; nay, perhaps I do not know him so well, having never seen him. I know only what is said; but the public is not stupid, and can judge princes, for they live in public. Neither is it because I am his partizan, for I have never been of any man's party. I do not follow any one; for I do not seek my fortune in revolutions and counter-revolutions, which always turn to the profit of some folks. Born one of the people, I remain in my place by choice; and, were I obliged to choose, I should still be of the party of the people—of the peasants like myself."

When the Duc d'Orleans settled in France, after the Hundred Days, he quietly retired within his domestic circle. His children have been educated with the care which it may be imagined such parents would affectionately bestow on the offspring of their affection. Their mother, in every sense an excellent woman, has found constant employment in the regulation of her household, and in the education and management of her daughters. It is a happy family, characterised by a simplicity of manners inexplicable to people of fashion. Mr. J. C. Loudon says, that, in the autumn of 1828, he walked over the gardens and grounds of the Duke of Orleans, at Neuilly, in company with the head gardener, who represented the Duke and the whole family as most humane, kind, and amiable, and simple even to frugality in all that related to personal expense. The Duke often spent the greater part of the day in pruning trees. His sons were educated at a public school, and his daughters by a governess at home. Mr. Loudon entered the grounds between four and five o'clock in the

morning, and left them about eight; between six and seven, three of the Duke's daughters were walking in a broad gravel walk, in the plainest dress, and unattended by any one.

The chief estate of the Duc d'Orleans is the Palais Royal, so called from Louis XIII. and the Queen regent, with the Royal Family, having taken up their residence there in 1643. It was originally commenced in 1629 by the Cardinal Richelieu as a mere hotel, but by his enlargements it at length assumed the name of the Palais Cardinal. It was presented by him to Louis XIII., who formed the Place du Palais Royal in front of it, to afford apartments for Louis XIV. He, on coming to the throne, increased the Palais Royal in size, and gave it to Philippe d'Orleans, Duc de Chartres, upon his marriage with Marie Françoise de Bourbon. It was afterwards successively modified, rebuilt, and embellished. In the former revolution it was called the Palais Egalité, and after the death of the late Duc d'Orleans was converted into cafés, ball-rooms, and places for gambling. In 1795 a military commission was established here, and it became the residence of the president and other officers: it was then called the Palais du Tribunat. On the return of Louis XVIII., in 1814, the present Duc d'Orleans furnished it for his own residence. During the Hundred Days Lucien Buonaparte established himself in the Palais Royal and received the ministers and grand dignitaries of Napoleon. On the return of the King, the Duc d'Orleans resumed possession of the Palais Royal. The Duke's principal business and recreation in Paris have consisted in altering and improving this edifice, and in planting and adorning the gardens: his works of this kind have enabled him to give daily employment to upwards of 500 persons. He has been a judicious promoter of art, and has contributed largely to the diffusion of useful knowledge and enlightened opinions.

From the time that the Duc d'Orleans finally settled in France, he appeared little in public affairs, and was seldom heard of but through the revilings of courtiers. The breaker of the prisoner's cage at St. Michaels, the proscribed exile of his country, the penniless wayfarer in the high alps, the teacher of mathematics in the Grisons, the pedestrian traveller to the North Pole, the traverser of the American wilds, the observer of the people of despotic and free

states, the student of the laws and usages of nations, the valiant warrior, the accomplished scholar, the lover of truth, the practical philosopher, the friend of Washington and Lafayette, was nobody at the court of the Tuilleries. The cherished advisers of the living representative of Divine Right on the throne of France were intriguing emigrants and fanatic priests—hoary in ignorance and superstition—believers in few things credible, and in all things incredible,—and, in spite of experience, confirmed disbelievers of "facts and revolutions." By them the opinions of the Duc d'Orleans were derided, and his advice scorned. Had he lifted his voice aloud he would have aroused their imperishable hate, and perhaps fallen a victim to their precautionary malice. He could not force counsel on him who counselled only with fools and flatterers, and he would not be the instigator of the people. He knew that the ripening of knowledge was not to be hastened, and that when ripe it would work its perfect work. Wisely, and therefore silently, he calmly observed the march of events which commenced with the principles that he grew up with, and with which he knew the procession would terminate. These principles were not received at court. They had demanded introduction and were refused. But, when the people determined to stay the plague of legitimacy, the principles burst in—Charles X. bowed, and fell before them, as Dagon fell before the ark—and the Schoolmaster of the Grisons became King of the French.

On his accession some old courtiers found their way to the Palais Royal, and one of them eagerly pressed forward to kiss hands. Philippe Louis I., with the tri-color on his heart, said—"We shall have done with this!" and offered his hand for a friendly shake; the astonished minion shrunk with terror—"By the holy bottle of the holy oil of Rheims," he exclaimed, "this is not a King!"

Buonaparte, in exile, frequently said, "the Duc d'Orleans is the only Bourbon fit to fill the throne of France."

KING OF THE FRENCH is a very ancient title. In 1059 the coronation oath of Philip I., the third sovereign of the line of Capet, began thus:—"I, Philip, by the grace of God, *King of the French*, promise before God, &c."

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